United Nations S/PV.3432

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3432nd Meeting
Friday, 30 September 1994, 4.45 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo	(Spain)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Bratinka
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Report by the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Somalia (S/1994/1068)

94-86494 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 5.05 p.m.

Expression of welcome

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* At the outset, I should like to express my pleasure at the presence at the Security Council table of His Excellency Mr. Pevel Bratinka, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic, whom I welcome on behalf of the Council.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

Report by the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Somalia (S/1994/1068)

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Somalia in which she requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Hassan (Somalia) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report by the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Somalia, document S/1994/1068.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1119, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Rwanda and Spain. France, Nigeria, New Zealand and the United Kingdom have joined those sponsors of the draft resolution.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution before it.

Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution (S/1994/1119) to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:
Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Against:
None

Abstaining:
United States of America

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, none against, and 1 abstention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 946 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French):* France has voted in favour of this technical resolution extending the mandate of UNOSOM until 31 October 1994. My country is aware that the lack of progress towards a political solution and the impotence of that force at this time justify a genuine, thorough debate in the Security Council - a debate after which decisions regarding the future of UNOSOM and the maintenance of the United Nations presence in Somalia should be taken.

This summer, France supported a progressive reduction of UNOSOM forces with a view to the end of the operation in March 1995, as scheduled in Security Council resolutions. We still support that schedule, even if we are ready to participate in a debate on this subject. It would be a serious decision for the Security Council to terminate a force prematurely. Thus, this debate must be based on precise information and recommendations of the Secretary-General, which he is to include in the report that he intends to submit to the Council on 15 October next.

In any case, my country considers that the United Nations should continue, in one way or another, to play a role in Somalia, with a view to consolidating the achievements of UNOSOM, helping to achieve national reconciliation, if that is within the Organization's power, and providing humanitarian assistance and contributing to the reconstruction of the country.

Until that debate takes place the Somali parties must be aware of the consequences of the decisions that the Council may have to adopt. France appeals to them once again to settle their quarrels and promote genuine national reconciliation. The time has truly come to convene the conference that has been postponed so often. Only a political solution will enable the economy and the institutions to be rebuilt with the assistance of the international community. But it is clear that the international community cannot take the place of the Somalis, who are solely responsible for their own future.

Mr. Al-Sameen (Oman) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: I should like, at the outset, to thank the Secretary-General through you for his report on the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). My delegation has studied this report carefully and with great interest. My delegation has also followed the verbal reports that the Security Council has been receiving from the Secretariat from time to time. There is no doubt that the Secretary-General's report reflects the regrettable situation that now prevails in Somalia despite the great international efforts that have been deployed to help the brotherly Somali people.

My delegation has observed that UNOSOM II has redeployed its personnel in such a way that it has now become concentrated in three locations only. It is regrettable that this redeployment is with the aim of enabling the forces to protect themselves as a result of the fact that UNOSOM II units have been subjected to attacks by the armed militias in Somalia.

On previous occasions, my country's delegation has voiced its belief that the resolution of the Somali problem is a responsibility borne by the Somalis themselves. On many occasions, we have reiterated that the duty of the United Nations and of the international community, in the first instance, is to help the Somalis to overcome their plight.

Once again, we underline our conviction that the resolution of the Somali problem is the responsibility of the Somalis themselves. Unfortunately, they have not responded positively or shown any desire, so far, to solve the problems arising from their differences. Therefore, we do not see any justification for the continued presence of the United Nations forces in Somalia. The human and great financial resources allocated to that military presence in Somalia could be channelled to humanitarian purposes in that country.

Once again we urge the Somali leaderships to assume their responsibilities and work toward ending their differences. We urge them to achieve national reconciliation and go on to apply and implement the agreements regarding their problem into which they have entered.

Our reading of the resolution just adopted shows, as we felt in the consultations that preceded its drafting, that the Security Council's patience is running thin and that next October will mark a decisive stage in the United Nations Operation in Somalia. The support of the United Nations now depends on what can be achieved during the coming month, and is conditional on the achievement by the Somali factions of national reconciliation. It is also conditional on the start of the implementation of the agreements those factions reached among themselves. We hope the Somali leaders will respond to the various appeals addressed to them and that they will seize this last opportunity to begin the reconstruction of their country and achieve the aspirations of the Somali people, who have suffered quite enough.

In conclusion, although we would have preferred the resolution to have included a clear and clear-cut reference to this decisive stage through which the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) is passing, including the possibility of winding up the operation in its entirety, we voted in favour of the resolution which has just been adopted in the belief that this might be the last chance for the brotherly people of Somalia to overcome its plight and solve its problems.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Throughout the current four-month mandate of UNOSOM there have been two constants in Somalia: continuing deterioration of the security situation and total lack of progress on political reconciliation. Each of the Secretary-General's reports - in July, in August and again in September - has said the security situation is getting worse. General deterioration has been punctuated by violent attacks on United Nations peace-keepers. During the last four months Zimbabwean, Indian and Malaysian soldiers have joined the ranks of over 140 peace-keepers who have died in Somalia. The Secretary-General's

latest report continues the grim litany of past losses and future danger. Concern has now reached such proportions that the UNOSOM Force Commander has been compelled to withdraw from many areas in Somalia, and by next month all troops will be concentrated in only three cities.

While the security environment has been getting worse, the political situation has not got better. The sole legacy of the past four months is a pile of broken promises. When the Council last considered the UNOSOM mandate, in May, we were waiting for the Somali factions to finally hold a national reconciliation preparatory conference that had already been postponed four times. Sadly, as we sit here today, four months later, we are still waiting. In August, and again in September, we were told a separate Hawiye clan conference was a necessary precursor to national reconciliation and that we had to wait for that. Today we learned that that conference also did not meet as scheduled and will not meet in the future. Yet some still say the Council should delay action and that another Conference, some time in October, will bring political reconciliation. Looking at the trail of broken promises left by the Somali factions, my Government will not listen to another assurance of just one more month, just one more conference.

The time has come to bring this United Nations mission to a conclusion. UNOSOM is draining away scarce human and financial resources that would be better used by the international community elsewhere. While UNOSOM has accomplished a great deal, saving hundreds of thousands of Somalis from starvation, its further continuation cannot be justified. In the face of Somali intransigence and unwillingness to reach political agreement, UNOSOM cannot continue to maintain 15,000 troops in Somalia and spend over $2.5 million a day.

The resolution adopted today fails to come to grips with the realities of the situation in Somalia. It puts off any decision on UNOSOM's future for yet another month. My Government believes the gravity of the situation, spelled out in the Secretary-General's own report, does not countenance such delay. Rather, the Council should agree now to a withdrawal of UNOSOM, in a safe and orderly manner, to be completed by the end of the year. Because the draft resolution failed to recognize the necessity of stepping up to the critical task of withdrawal now, my Government could not vote for it.

At the same time, however, conscious of the need to continue the mandate for the protection of the troops during the withdrawal period, my Government was not willing at this time to vote against an extension. It is our firm hope and expectation that the Secretary-General will utilize the coming days to complete planning for the withdrawal and in his next report provide the Council with a realistic proposal for an orderly and expeditious withdrawal. We see no reason why such a report cannot be presented in the near future to permit the Council to consider and act on withdrawal well before the end of today's one-month extension.

There should be no doubt about my Government's position, however. The Council's principal concern from now on must be the safe withdrawal of UNOSOM's forces. My Government stands ready to work with other members of the Council to bring that about. But time is running short. The threat to United Nations peace-keepers increases by the day. Another was shot only yesterday. Neither we nor they can afford further delay in concluding the mission in Somalia.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French):* It is true that the question of Somalia primarily concerns the Somalis themselves. But it is equally true that it is an African question, and more specifically a question for the subregion known as the Horn of Africa.

No resolution could properly address this question without taking into account these three elements: the Somali parties involved in the situation, the surrounding countries and Africa as a whole. The failure of previous resolutions should not make us stop looking for more appropriate solutions than those adopted so far.

My delegation would like to ask the Security Council and the Secretary-General to avoid another Rwanda, from which no one has yet recovered. In voting for the draft resolution, my delegation therefore wished to encourage a search for solutions to the Somali situation involving African regional and subregional organizations in the implementation of the four action points contained in the resolution.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his report on the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), dated 17 September 1994. We are awaiting the second part of the report, which is to contain the Secretary-General's assessment of the prospects of national reconciliation and recommendations for the

future of the United Nations operation in Somalia. This second part will include the results of the recent visit to Somalia of the Under-Secretary General for Peace-keeping Operations, Mr. Kofi Annan, whose initial impressions we heard yesterday with interest at the informal meeting with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II).

The current situation in Somalia certainly does not lend itself to optimism. Despite the limited progress that has been made in the attempts to achieve reconciliation between the Somali factions, it has not yet been possible to convene the long-awaited preparatory meeting of the conference on national reconciliation, which has been postponed for months.

At the same time, the security situation in the area continues to be alarming; it has deteriorated and there is no hint of any improvement, as demonstrated by the many militia attacks on those providing humanitarian assistance and on the personnel of UNOSOM II, resulting in the casualties we all deplore.

This sombre scenario indicates that the activities of the militias are continuing and expanding, independent of any agreement entered into by the heads of the Somali factions. This situation is restricting and indeed endangering the freedom of movement and the very effectiveness of UNOSOM II and the humanitarian agencies in discharging their mandates.

Indeed, the commander of the force has been compelled to begin preparations for reducing the number of personnel and concentrating them in three areas: Mogadishu, Baidoa and Kismayu. This is symptomatic of the current uncertainty affecting a continued United Nations presence in Somalia, with unavoidably adverse consequences on the important humanitarian assistance work the international community is carrying out in this country.

In accordance with resolution 946 (1994), just adopted by the Council, and in conformity with the Secretary-General's recommendations, the mandate of UNOSOM II has been extended for a one-month period, until 31 October 1994, while we await the Secretary-General's complete assessment and recommendations. This resolution emphasizes the importance the Council attaches to the need for a detailed analysis of UNOSOM II's mandate and very future. As my delegation firmly believes, this will provide the essential elements for the adoption of the most realistic decision, without entirely abandoning the Somali people to their fate.

Spain co-sponsored the draft resolution that has just been adopted as a responsible member of the Council which considers that a decision that affects the future of any United Nations peace-keeping operation, and particularly an operation of this importance, cannot be made precipitously and in the absence of all the necessary criteria. The contents of the resolution itself send a clear message to the Somali factions that the international community's patience is coming to an end. Today more than ever, the Somali parties must show their sincere interest in achieving national reconciliation and peace in their country, enabling the Somali people to regain hope and to take charge of their own fate. Otherwise, it would be difficult to justify the maintenance of a United Nations presence in Somalia as it currently exists.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3433

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3433rd Meeting

Friday, 30 September 1994, 5.35 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo	(Spain)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Bratinka
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

94-86500 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 5.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council is deeply concerned at the deteriorating security situation in the safe area of Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has included increased levels of armed violence, deliberate attacks on UNPROFOR troops and on humanitarian flights, severe restrictions on public utilities, and continued restriction on the flow of transport and communications. It notes that normal life has not been fully restored to Sarajevo, as called for in its resolution 900 (1994).

"The Security Council expresses concern at the deliberate interruptions of utilities and communications to the civilian population in Sarajevo, as well as the extended period of closure of Sarajevo airport to humanitarian flights and the route across that airport opened in cooperation with UNPROFOR following the agreement of 17 March 1994, as a result of the actions by the Bosnian Serb party. The Council calls upon the Bosnian Serb Party not to interfere with the normal functioning of Sarajevo airport. It further calls upon the Bosnian Serb party to cooperate with efforts to fully restore the flow of gas and electricity to Sarajevo, to reopen all land routes to Sarajevo and, now and in the future, to refrain from impeding the normal operations of these and all other utilities, and means of communication and transport. It calls upon all parties not to interfere with the supply of gas or electricity to the civilian population. It reiterates its call to all parties, with the assistance of the United Nations, to achieve complete freedom of movement for the civilian population and for humanitarian goods to, from and within Sarajevo, to remove any hindrance to such freedom of movement, and to help restore normal life to the city.

"It condemns in particular the deliberate attack on 22 September 1994 on UNPROFOR troops in Sarajevo, just one of a number of attacks which clearly sugges: a deliberate pattern. The Council also notes with alarm, and condemns without reservation, the reported statements of the Bosnian Serb leadership that the Bosnian Serb party would target UNPROFOR activities in retaliation for the passage of a Council resolution tightening sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs. It warns the Bosnian Serb leadership against any retaliatory action, whether against UNPROFOR or any other party, and, in that context, welcomes efforts to support UNPROFOR troops.

"The Council fully supports UNPROFOR's efforts to assure compliance with measures designed by the international community to improve conditions in Sarajevo. It advises both parties, and in particular the Bosnian Serbs, to comply with those measures.

"The Council strongly condemns any provocative actions in Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina by whomsoever committed and demands immediate cessation of such actions.

"The Council encourages the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and

UNPROFOR to explore as a matter of priority proposals for the demilitarization of Sarajevo.

"The Council affirms its determination to remain seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/57.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3434

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3434th Meeting
Friday, 30 September 1994, 5.50 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo	(Spain)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 908 (1994) (S/1994/1067 and Add.1)

94-86506 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 5.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)
Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 908 (1994) (S/1994/1067 and Add.1)

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Croatia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took places at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I have also received a request dated 30 September 1994 from His Excellency Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to address the Council. With the consent of the Council, I would propose to invite him to address the Council in the course of the discussion of the item before it.

If there is no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 908 (1994), document S/1994/1067 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1120, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Spain and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following oral revisions to be made to the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1120, in its provisional form: in the third preambular paragraph, the words "an overall" should be inserted before the word "negotiated" and the comma should be deleted after the words "former Yugoslavia". It is my understanding that the revised text is available in Spanish and in English.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1045 and S/1994/1108, letters dated 9 and 28 September, respectively, from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1994/1058 and S/1994/1095, letters dated 15 and 26 September 1994, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1994/1062, letter dated 16 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and I now call on him.

Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina): I will keep my comments brief and to the point, although, frankly, we have much to be disappointed about in terms of the response of the Security Council, other responsible international institutions and in particular the Contact Group to the concerns that we have expressed.

Once again, our willingness to compromise and cooperate with the Contact Group is being misappropriated and manipulated through deliberate misinformation. More to the point, commitments to address the urgent situations in Sarajevo, Srebrenica and other besieged areas are being marginalized. These matters deserve to be dealt with urgently in the context of the draft resolution before us in a clear and direct fashion.

With respect to the renewal of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) mandate and, in particular, the draft resolution before us, we must make two clear reflections. First, every Security Council resolution mandating UNPROFOR has been adopted in the context of the unadulterated commitment of the Council to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Secondly, although

some elements within the civilian and military authorities of UNPROFOR relentlessly refer to a peace-keeping mission, in fact UNPROFOR's mandate has always been more complex and by definition required more resolve and commitment in addressing the victim's needs.

Within UNPROFOR's mandate there is no reference to peace-keeping but specific assignments that even call upon "the necessary measures" and appropriate responses to attacks on civilian safe areas and violations of humanitarian standards.

With respect to the two above-mentioned fundamental points, any threats directed at the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its defence forces exercising the responsibility of defending its civilians, territorial integrity and sovereignty must be viewed as contrary to the word and spirit of the relevant Security Council resolutions, whether such threats come from those who initiated aggression against our Republic in the first place, or who may be in the Republic on the basis of current United Nations resolutions.

Similarly, attempts to redefine the UNPROFOR mandate to reflect a fear or lack of will to exercise the Security Council's directives must not be accepted as a de facto basis for continuing the mandate. This unwillingness to carry out the United Nations mandate must be either publicly rebuked when publicly expressed in the international press, or result in a request to the Secretary-General to change those individuals who make such statements, especially when such individuals act in direct contravention to existing United Nations resolutions and, of course, the United Nations Charter; or, those who do not have the will to carry out their mandate, as pointed out in various United Nations Security Council resolutions, should be replaced; or, if there is a practical incapacity to execute the original mandate, then the mandate must not be sacrificed. Instead, additional resources should be provided or the mandate itself must be fully terminated.

We must, even if necessary by the adoption of a new resolution, despite the risk of redundancy, re-establish the clear objectives of the UNPROFOR mandate and, most critically, reassert the primacy of the mandate and the civilian beneficiaries of that mandate rather than the self-preservation of those who are responsible for executing the mandate.

If we are to experience a consistent and real chance for peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina we must not constantly be told what UNPROFOR cannot do. We must be told what it must and can do to promote the change from the current, unacceptable situation to the stated goals. The status quo within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the enemy of a civilian population that is continually victimized by the physical and psychological demands of the current situation. The status quo is also the enemy of the peace process and the interests of peace, stability and legality within our Republic, the region and the international community.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The next speaker is the representative of Croatia, on whom I now call.

Mr. Nobilo (Croatia): Mr. President, at the beginning allow me to extend to you my congratulations on your able presidency of this body for this month.

My Government has accepted a new United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) mandate for the Republic of Croatia with the clear understanding of the serious consequences arising from the decision to the country in respect of the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the overall peace process, and on the basis of firm assurances from the highest representatives of the international community that the situation in the occupied territories in Croatia shall immediately come under consideration in the work of the Contact Group.

My Government remains bound by the decision of Croatia's Parliament on the UNPROFOR mandate and it welcomes the elements of those decisions which have been incorporated in resolution 947 (1994), especially in respect of the "pink zones", the border monitors and the pilot projects for the return of displaced persons to their homes in the occupied areas.

Similarly, we welcome the Security Council's support for the mutual recognition between the successor States of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within their internationally recognized borders. My Government views that as the essential next step in the solution-seeking process in the region.

We firmly believe that this draft resolution sets the solution-seeking process in the right direction and hope that the Contact Group and the United Nations will immediately begin to pursue measures which are consistent with the letter and spirit of the draft resolution so that the relevant parties will not be compelled to consider a new UNPROFOR mandate after 100 days as

provided for by this draft resolution and the resolution of Croatia's Parliament.

Croatia cannot continue to tolerate a situation in which it bears the brunt of the cost owing to the lack of progress in Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only in respect of UNPROFOR but also in other areas such as the care of Bosnian refugees. The linkage of Croatia to Bosnia and Herzegovina in this regard must be compensated for by the international community in a positive way. One aspect of a positive linkage involves the eventual lifting of the arms embargo against the federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My President informed the members of the Security Council in the meeting on 27 September that Croatia expected to be treated in the same way in this regard. Most importantly, the situation in the occupied territories in Croatia must be linked to the negotiating process pursued by the Contact Group in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We must emphasize that the decision to accept the new UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia was made in large part with the view that the Contact Group will immediately commence work on the comprehensive reintegration plan for Croatia which would provide local autonomy in pre-war Serbian majority areas in Croatia, with the same acceptance/rejection measures that should be applied to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and their proxies in Knin if necessary.

My Government must also emphasize the importance of the mutual recognition of existing borders between Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), consistent with the final documents of the G-7 plus 1 summit held at Naples from 8 to 10 July, as the essential next step for the Contact Group's activities. Mutual recognition will secure the best possible alternative for the protection of minority rights in respect of the Serbian minority in Croatia and the Croat minority in Serbia and Montenegro - reciprocity.

Finally, I must express discontent and regret that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) has been given the right to address the Council. It is the firm position of my Government that the UNPROFOR mandate is taking place only on the territories of the three sovereign United Nations Member States, the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and therefore the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) as an occupier should not be given any special status regarding this issue.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I thank the representative of Croatia for the kind words he addressed to me.

In accordance with the decision taken earlier in the meeting, I now invite the distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic, to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. Jovanovic: The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shares the view of the Secretary-General contained in his report in document S/1994/1067 of 17 September 1994 that the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) should be renewed for a further period of six months.

In that context, the clear position of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was reaffirmed in the letter by His Excellency Mr. Radoje Kontic, Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, addressed to the Secretary-General on 9 September 1994 (S/1994/1045).

Ever since the outbreak of the crisis and hostilities in the former Yugoslavia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has advocated a political and peaceful solution to the crisis on the basis of full respect for the equality of all the peoples of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and their legitimate interests. Within that framework, Yugoslavia supported the direct involvement of the United Nations in the political process and the presence of peace-keeping troops in the United Nations protected areas and in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia supports the Vance Plan and is interested in having it fully respected and implemented by all. UNPROFOR's presence in the protected areas has been of vital importance for the protection of the Serbian civilian population of Krajina, pending the negotiated settlement among the parties to the conflict which was indeed the main goal of the Plan. It has been precisely UNPROFOR that has ensured the consistent implementation of the Vance Plan, enabled the fragile peace to be maintained and prevented further confrontation of the parties to the conflict. The question of extending UNPROFOR's mandate should be viewed apart from the search for a political solution to the crisis. The extension of UNPROFOR's mandate and the protection of the Serbian population cannot be used by one side as an instrument for exerting political pressure in the negotiating process. On the contrary, the presence

of UNPROFOR is a precondition for facilitating a political solution.

The difficulties in implementing the mandate of UNPROFOR and the Vance Plan should not serve as a pretext for questioning its validity. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers that the conditions for terminating the UNPROFOR peace operation have not yet been created and that the UNPROFOR presence in the protected areas is necessary until an overall political solution is reached.

As stated in the Secretary-General's reports on UNPROFOR, the Croatian Government has repeatedly - throughout the implementation of UNPROFOR's mandate - violated Security Council resolutions, provisions of the Vance Plan and other relevant documents of the United Nations regarding the protected areas. In his latest report, the Secretary-General rightly draws attention to the fact that the Croatian population in areas bordering the protected areas, with the obvious support of the Croatian authorities, has blocked UNPROFOR and made its work impossible, in direct violation of the cease-fire agreement of 29 March 1994 and the provisions of the Vance Plan. In addition, we are witnessing constant threats by the highest Croatian officials to resort to the use of force as the most efficient means of resolving the problems of the protected areas and imposing Croatian rule on Krajina. We fully agree with the Secretary-General's assessment that resort to a military option would have incalculable consequences and would be unlikely to lead to a durable peace.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia particularly shares the Secretary-General's view that not all efforts towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict have yet been exhausted. The recent agreement on the establishment of six working groups on economic issues and the resumption of negotiations on the opening of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway give ground for some hope. However, the Republic of Croatia has persistently attempted to politicize the current negotiating process and has, contrary to the Vance Plan, opened the question of a final political settlement. The Croats have not proved willing to negotiate on economic issues without simultaneously addressing political questions.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is convinced, however, that a three-phase policy is the only way to achieve peace. Building on the results of the cease-fire, negotiations should be speedily resumed on confidence-building measures and the re-establishment of economic relations and infrastructure, which would enable a *modus vivendi* in Krajina to be established and the Vance Plan to be realized. When this has been carried out in full, conditions could be attained for the negotiation of the final political settlement.

For its part, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has continued to make efforts towards the normalization of relations with Croatia and in this context supports the work of liaison bureaus in Belgrade and Zagreb.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia fully supports the Secretary-General's assessment that, in the absence of an overall political settlement acceptable to all of the parties, UNPROFOR's current presence and activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina remain invaluable. UNPROFOR has indeed played a major role in supporting humanitarian activities, facilitating local cease-fires and disengagements, and fostering reconciliation and cooperation between communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Any decision that might be geared towards lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims would have disastrous effects. It not only would contribute directly to the rapid escalation, and even the spread, of the civil war, but would clearly instigate the departure of the majority of the UNPROFOR troop-contributing nations, with incalculable effects.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has given its full support to the Contact Group's plan and has tried to convince the Bosnian Serb leadership to accept it. Yugoslavia is convinced that there cannot be any alternative to a peaceful solution and that the plan of the Contact Group offers a basis for resuming peace negotiations. In order to convince the Bosnian Serbs to accept the logic of peace, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has closed the border except to foodstuffs, medical supplies and clothing for humanitarian needs and has severed political and economic ties with the Bosnian Serbs. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is convinced, however, that a lasting and just solution to the conflict and crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be reached only by political means, taking into account the vital interests and full equality of all three peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are convinced that a clear-cut, written agreement by the Contact Group that the Bosnian Serbs should have the equal right to establish confederal ties with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - just like those

that the Croat-Muslim federation has been allowed to establish with Croatia - would open the door for the Bosnian Serbs possibly to agree to the Contact Group plan.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is unfortunately obliged to express its profound regret that the draft resolution before the Security Council contains certain provisions that are outside the meritum of the question at hand and deal with issues that should be addressed in other Security Council resolutions regarding the situation in the former Yugoslavia, not in a technical resolution on the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate. We refer in particular to the third and fifth preambular paragraphs and to operative paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13 and 14 of the draft resolution.

Various provisions of the draft resolution reflect exclusively, in a very one-sided manner, the position of the Croatian side and depart from the spirit and letter of the Vance Plan as the only internationally agreed document on the resolution of the crisis in the United Nations protected areas. They attempt, in operative paragraph 14, to impose certain political solutions which are in flagrant contravention of the Vance Plan, which provides for the political status of the protected areas to be resolved in negotiations between the parties in question only after all of the Plan's provisions have been implemented. In so doing, the draft resolution can lead down a dangerous path which could unravel the positive elements that have been achieved so far through the cease-fire and negotiations for the re-establishment of economic links. This might result in a serious deterioration of the situation in the United Nations protected areas, with unforeseeable consequences.

For its part, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, despite the remaining sanctions, will strive to facilitate the UNPROFOR peace mission in the former Yugoslavia and will continue to make the utmost efforts in the attainment of a just and lasting political settlement. We are convinced, however, that an urgent and unconditional lifting of all sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is the most effective way of contributing to the reinstatement of peace in the region.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on draft resolution S/1994/1120, as orally revised in its provisional form. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted unanimously as resolution 947 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French):* It is entirely right that the resolution we have just adopted should emphasize the essential role played by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia and pay tribute to the performance of those serving in that Force. The Force has been the target of some criticism - completely unwarranted, in the eyes of my delegation - which is especially paradoxical in that it has been voiced by those whose protection it provides or by some whose support for the cause they defend is usually purely verbal.

At a time when things are developing in such a manner that they may well eventually lead to the complete withdrawal of the United Nations presence from the territory of former Yugoslavia, my delegation feels it is legitimate to ask one simple question: Where would we be without UNPROFOR? For us, the answer is clear: There would be increased suffering for the civilian population, increased movements of refugees and irreversible developments on the ground that would confront the international community with an insoluble problem. In the worst-case scenario, there would be generalized conflict throughout the Balkans.

Of course, it would have been nice if more could have been done. But UNPROFOR has neither the mandate nor the military means to impose peace. Nevertheless, it has performed its task admirably, averting the resumption of hostilities, providing protection for humanitarian assistance and preventing the extension of the conflict beyond the borders of the former Yugoslavia. In so doing, it has paid a heavy toll, for 118 Blue Helmets have died since the creation of the Force.

My delegation would like once again to pay them a solemn tribute.

Everyone is aware that we have undoubtedly reached a turning point in the history of the Force. Either a dynamic for peace will gain strength in the coming weeks, leading to the conclusion of an agreement that will be implemented in radically new circumstances, or, on the contrary, hope of a negotiated settlement will fade, and then decisions will inevitably have to be taken involving the withdrawal of UNPROFOR. Thus this is undoubtedly the last time the Council will be called upon to extend its mandate in a routine manner.

The next stage, therefore, will be crucial and UNPROFOR will have a central role to play in it. It will have to reassure those parties that, although in a position of military inferiority, have made the courageous choice to negotiate. It will have to prove to them that they were right to place their trust in the international community. This means that UNPROFOR will have to strive to ensure strict implementation of the Council's decisions, particularly those concerning safe areas. This might imply the use of force, if necessary, especially to ensure respect for the exclusion zones. The French Government therefore hopes that very explicit instructions along those lines will be issued to the leaders of the Force. By demonstrating its determination, the international community will prevail over those who would gamble on chaos.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: We feel that the noble work of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia has had a positive influence on stability in the region and that it therefore deserves our praise.

The presence of that Force, to which Argentina has contributed a significant contingent, clearly demonstrates that the international community still hopes that peace and stability can be established in the area.

The freedom of movement of the forces of peace must be respected in both Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Similarly, so that they may carry out their duties better, the long-sought agreement on their status must be concluded.

Pressure - whether in the form of preconditions, blockades or other policies - will not help resolve the differences or improve the situation.

In the present situation, Argentina considers it important to extend UNPROFOR's mandate for six months. Then the Security Council will meet again to evaluate progress in the execution of the mandate, if events on the ground so require.

At the same time, we acknowledge that peace-keeping operations are a tool in the service of political negotiations and should in no way be understood to constitute lasting solutions. We feel that the parties to the respective conflicts are duty-bound to advance in good faith the in-depth negotiations that will result in the establishment of peace in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, at which time a peace-keeping operation will certainly no longer be necessary.

As to the situation in the Republic of Croatia, the Security Council is aware of the fact that, as the Secretary-General indicates in his report of 17 September, little progress has been made in the efforts to reintegrate the United Nations Protected Areas into the country or to return displaced persons to their homes.

This is frankly discouraging, but we must not minimize the progress recently made towards peace, particularly the most important achievement which the maintenance of the current cease-fire represents for the patient inhabitants of that country.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): In adopting this resolution, of which we were a co-sponsor, the Security Council is making clear the importance it attaches to the work of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in support of the international efforts to bring peace to the former Yugoslavia. UNPROFOR's role has been essential, whether in peace-keeping, in assisting humanitarian efforts or in promoting cease-fires and negotiating agreements. We are concerned at the stalemate in Croatia and at the continuing bloodshed and defiance of this Council's resolutions in Bosnia. All too much remains to be done and the improvements that have been achieved remain fragile and incomplete. We pay a tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, his Force Commanders and the men and women of UNPROFOR who, often at great personal risk, have made this possible. They deserve the respect and cooperation of all concerned. It is therefore only right that, in deciding to extend UNPROFOR's mandate for a further six months, the Council has called for the necessary arrangements, such as status-of-forces agreements, to be finalized without further delay.

We also welcome the continuing cooperation between UNPROFOR and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The latter's support for UNPROFOR is absolutely vital. The force has faced daily harassment, provocations and even deliberate attacks. UNPROFOR's freedom of movement and safety must be fully respected by all.

My Government is one of the largest contributors of troops to UNPROFOR. We also play a major role in NATO's activities in support of UNPROFOR, in the Sarajevo airlift and in the international aid effort. We fully support the continuation of UNPROFOR's presence. But UNPROFOR can only contribute to peace efforts if it is in a position to carry out its mandate effectively. In his report, the Secretary-General rightly drew attention to the uncertainties which have surrounded UNPROFOR's future. No peace-keeping operation can hope to succeed if it takes sides in a conflict. My Foreign Secretary has already welcomed the acceptance by the Bosnian Government of the fact that now is not the time to lift the arms embargo, thereby allowing UNPROFOR's work to continue. We must seize this opportunity and use the next six months to press ahead with efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement. To this end, we shall need to sustain the pressure on the Bosnian Serbs. We must also help UNPROFOR consolidate what they have achieved so far, for example by looking at ways to promote the demilitarization of Sarajevo.

Ultimately, it is on the parties themselves that the prospects for peace depend. My Government will continue to work with our partners in the Contact Group to achieve that peace. It is right that those who cooperate in the effort to achieve peace, by deeds as well as words, should benefit. Those who refuse to do so will only increase their isolation from the rest of the international community and prolong the suffering of their own people.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation): The Russian Federation supported the resolution just adopted in the belief that the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is playing an extremely important role in efforts to settle the conflicts in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It cannot be denied that, without the presence of the Force, the situation there would be incomparably worse from both the political and the humanitarian viewpoints.

At the political level, the need to continue the operation is dictated first and foremost by the key task of promoting a peaceful settlement to the crisis. Naturally, at the same time everything possible must be done to ensure that the United Nations Force does not become a party to the conflict or a hostage to those forces participating in it. The parties to the conflict themselves should, at the same time, fully cooperate with the United Nations Force in the performance of its mandate, should commit no provocative or hostile acts against United Nations personnel, and should respect their neutral status. In this context, we should like particularly to emphasize that the effectiveness of UNPROFOR's efforts depends to a large extent on the existence of good will on the part of the parties to the conflict. This is true of virtually every aspect of the Force's activity, including its role in the "safe areas" in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

With respect to Croatia, it is quite clear to us that the unimpeded fulfillment by the United Nations Force of its mandate in the Protected Areas is the most important prerequisite of the fullest possible implementation of the Vance plan. The role of UNPROFOR is no less important in the humanitarian sphere, which has become a significant factor in improving the living conditions of the population.

Russia attaches particular importance to the continued efforts of the countries of the Contact Group to develop their cooperation with the Security Council on the basis of the experience gained over recent months in the Bosnian negotiations. We consider it important to increase pressure on all parties, using the full range of positive and negative incentives in order to promote a comprehensive peace settlement. Such a settlement, as we see it, should be based on a territorial arrangement and on constitutional principles placing all parties on an equal footing.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): New Zealand is pleased that the Security Council has decided to extend the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) for a further six months. The various missions of UNPROFOR - humanitarian, peace-keeping, the protection of "safe areas", preventive deployment - all help reduce the adverse consequences of the political and military conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and all help reduce the possibility that that conflict will become more widespread, more intense and more violent.

UNPROFOR's mission is not an easy one. The States and parties involved have a range of expectations of the United Nations, not all of which UNPROFOR is able to fulfil. We believe that UNPROFOR is doing an outstanding job of alleviating suffering and maintaining

a fragile peace. We thank the men and women serving the United Nations in the former Yugoslavia for performing this task in difficult and dangerous conditions. They deserve our support, and in this context we find it hard to understand that two States in whose territory UNPROFOR is deployed have yet to sign status-of-forces agreements with the United Nations in respect of the UNPROFOR deployment. This is long overdue and we believe that it is urgent to remedy this situation.

But if UNPROFOR is to continue to be supported, the status quo cannot be continued. UNPROFOR'S ongoing operation must be complemented by efforts on other fronts, first with respect to Croatia. The resolution that we have just adopted makes provision for the situation in the United Nations Protected Areas to be reviewed.

We know that the Government of Croatia is committed to the peaceful settlement of this problem, but it is rightly impatient at the slow progress on this front. It is unacceptable that a peace plan - a plan agreed some years ago and the subject of subsequent discussion - should still not be implemented. We therefore urge the parties, with the active assistance of the United Nations, to reinvigorate the progress towards implementation of the peace plan.

Secondly, in respect of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a number of steps were taken in the package of resolutions that this Council adopted last week. As we said at the time of the adoption of those resolutions, those measures needed to be followed up with further specific steps. We said, first, that there should be early recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia; secondly, that there needed to be firm and united resolve on the part of UNPROFOR and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to use force where that is warranted for the protection of the safe areas and the enforcement of the exclusion zones. We know that the use of force has to be carefully calibrated, but in our view its use has contributed to stability.

Thirdly, the Council has made it clear on a number of occasions - most recently today - that the strangulation of Sarajevo must cease. Demilitarized lines of access to the city must be implemented.

Fourthly, we believe that the progressive withdrawal of the Bosnian Serbs to positions that are consistent with the territorial settlement proposal should be seriously pursued.

The Council has today adopted a presidential statement that begins to address some of these points, but in our view this is only a beginning. We think that it is quite reasonable for the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Government of Croatia to expect progress to have made been on all these fronts when the mandate of UNPROFOR next comes up for renewal.

In this connection, I note that the resolution we have just adopted is much less specific than we would have liked on a question which, in the view of my Government, is of the utmost importance - that is, the mutual recognition of the respective international boundaries by the States in the region of the former Yugoslavia. I wish to emphasize that, in our view, mutual recognition should be a starting point for the overall settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. It is implicit or explicit in all the peace plans that have been put forward. It cannot any longer be a subject for negotiation. Any State that equivocates on this matter runs the risk of having its bona fides in the peace process called into question.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): In the six months since the Council last authorized the extension of the mandate of the United Nation Protection Force (UNPROFOR) the situation in the States of the former Yugoslavia has changed significantly.

In Bosnia, the most important development has been the Contact Group's presentation of its territorial proposal to the parties. The Contact Group has received consistent support from the Security Council, reaffirmed specifically in this resolution. Unfortunately, while the Bosnian Federation has accepted the proposal, the Bosnian Serbs have not. We will continue to demand that the Bosnian Serbs accept the proposal, which, in our view, represents the best opportunity for a just and equitable settlement to this conflict. Just one week ago, with its adoption of a resolution tightening sanctions on the Bosnian Serbs, the Council reminded the Bosnian Serbs that their continuing obstinacy incurs substantial costs.

In Croatia, a cease-fire is holding, but the promise of discussions between the parties has not produced the progress that had been hoped for. My Government strongly supports the basic precept, reflected in this resolution, that a settlement of the conflict in the Republic of Croatia - as in Bosnia - must be in conformity with its sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders. This

principle, which my Government considers an imperative, is reflected explicitly in this resolution.

In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, economic difficulties have mounted, but conflict has blessedly not crossed its borders.

UNPROFOR itself has been on the front line of all these developments. The largest peace-keeping operation in the history of the United Nations, UNPROFOR has played an essential role in the international community's efforts towards peace. In Bosnia, UNPROFOR has enabled humanitarian relief to continue flowing. It has helped to maintain the cease-fire between the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims, upon which a meaningful Bosniac-Croat federation can be built. It has actively negotiated measures to reduce tensions. When these measures have been violated, UNPROFOR has been willing to take more robust steps.

My Government is concerned at the increasing number of violations of the terms of the exclusion zones, and committed to their strict enforcement. I am confident that, should strict enforcement continue to be necessary, UNPROFOR will work closely with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to ensure that the intent of the Council to protect the safe areas is carried out.

In Croatia, UNPROFOR has been given an enormous task, much of which, as the Secretary-General has recently pointed out, it has been unable to carry out in the face of obstinacy. While this resolution calls for progress in implementing the United Nations peace-keeping plan for the Republic of Croatia, it rightly lays upon the parties - and my Government interprets this to refer especially to the Serb party - the responsibility to create the conditions that would allow UNPROFOR to fulfil its mandate.

In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, UNPROFOR has played a valuable role in deterring conflict, with the full support of the Government and people of that country.

In sum, an effective and vigorous UNPROFOR is vital to the success that we hope the political process will produce.

Finally, let me pay tribute to all the countries that have contributed troops to UNPROFOR, to those who have been wounded or killed in pursuit of its mission, and to all the troops who are serving and have served on behalf of the Security Council and the international community.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): The Czech Republic considers the continuing operation of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as exceptionally important for the continuing political discussions on a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region.

The positive impact of the Protection Force has been different in each of these three countries.

In Croatia, we have witnessed the stabilization of the situation since a cease-fire in the United Nations protected areas was signed last March. We have seen a separation of the belligerent parties. Here UNPROFOR is operating as an actual peace-keeper.

In the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, UNPROFOR's role is different - protecting humanitarian convoys, ensuring the security of Sarajevo airport, monitoring the no-fly zone, and showing the flag in safe areas.

In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, UNPROFOR, under Chapter VI, is an instrument of preventive diplomacy, and, as such, it has a calming effect on a difficult and potentially explosive situation. Yet UNPROFOR is not a panacea. The balance of the pluses and the minuses, however, is, in our view, overwhelmingly in its favour. The Czech Republic, therefore, did not hesitate to vote for an additional six-month extension of its mandate, and would have been even happier with a longer extension.

Last week my delegation spoke at length about its views on the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including its views on those aspects that were covered in the presidential statement that you, Mr. President, read out during our earlier meeting.

We see UNPROFOR's role in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as critical, even if it is a role that is sometimes criticized. The ever-tighter cooperation between UNPROFOR and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is one aspect we are particularly happy about. There is, of course, only so much that a military peace-keeping force can attain. The central role of the political process is inescapable. In this respect, the Czech Republic views the future of relations between Zagreb and Belgrade as one of the most important keys to unlocking the gate to a peaceful settlement in the entire region.

Six months ago there were certain hopes. Zagreb and Belgrade had started to talk, and discussions were also initiated, within Croatia, between the Zagreb Government and the Croatian Serbs. These hopes, however, have yielded disappointing results. The political process of implementing the Vance plan by reintegrating United Nations protected areas with the rest of Croatia is going nowhere. The process of freeing communications within Croatia - that is to say, road and railroad connections, water supply, telephone links or the Adria oil pipeline - is virtually frozen. This is where additional political attention and efforts of the parties have to be directed.

Over and above these concerns, which are very practical for people of various parts of Croatia, and, in the case of the Adria pipeline, for several other countries of Central Europe as well, there is the question of mutual recognition of the several States that emerged from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, mutual recognition within their internationally recognized boundaries. Last week, with respect to Bosnia and Herzegovina's relationship with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), I made a point of this. This is equally valid for the relationship between Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In our resolution we stressed the importance we attach to mutual recognition, and my delegation wishes to underscore this particular point.

One last point: both as a Security Council member and as an UNPROFOR troop-contributing country, with almost 1,000 men in Croatia, my delegation is particularly concerned by the continuing void in relations between the United Nations and Croatia. We still have not concluded a status-of-forces agreement, as several speakers have already mentioned. This, we feel, is strictly a matter of a political decision in Croatia, and, especially after our recent meeting with President Tudjman, we hope that such a political decision and the necessary political will to conclude such an agreement will become apparent.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

For more than two and a half years now, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has made inestimable contributions to the channelling of humanitarian assistance, to the containment of hostilities and, most important, to making it possible to seek a negotiated solution to the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. Resolution 947 (1994), which we have just adopted and which my delegation co-sponsored, renews the Force's mandate for six months, thus reflecting the unanimous opinion of the members of the Council and of the troop-contributing countries, as we saw a few days ago in the informal meeting we held with them and with the competent department of the Secretariat.

Although with each renewal of UNPROFOR's mandate the Council's attention has been focused mainly on the situation in the Republic of Croatia, the effects of its renewal have just as much importance for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, since in each of those countries UNPROFOR plays a noteworthy role.

With regard to Croatia, we share the frustration and impatience of its people and its Government over the lack of concrete progress in the situation in the Krajinas, aside from the cease-fire's holding. It is regrettable that the Vance plan and numerous Security Council resolutions have still not been fully implemented. One third of Croatian territory is still not under the authority of the Government today, and scant progress has been made in the implementation of confidence-building measures. This has inevitable side-effects on the daily life of the civilian population in those zones, not to mention the situation of many refugees and displaced persons.

As we have stated on other occasions, the so-called United Nations protected areas constitute an integral part of the Republic of Croatia, whose sovereignty and territorial integrity must be respected. It is obvious that there will be no possibility of a comprehensive settlement of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia until there is a solution for the Krajinas.

Clearly, the objective of the United Nations is not to preserve an unacceptable status quo. It is the parties who have the responsibility to resolve the problems still pending with the assistance and cooperation of UNPROFOR under the terms of its mandate and according to the means at its disposal.

In respect of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Council has just issued a statement expressing its concern over the deterioration of the situation in Sarajevo and also urging that the cease-fire and the zone of exclusion be respected and that communications and essential public services be fully restored. The statement condemns in particular the attacks perpetrated against UNPROFOR troops and warns against possible reprisals by the Bosnian Serb party.

I wish to underline that resolution 947 (1994), which we have just adopted, broadens UNPROFOR's mandate with regard to, among other things, the civilian police (UNCIVPOL), with the aim of promoting the protection of people and minority groups throughout the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In addition, we must stress that in his report of last 17 September the Secretary-General expressed the conviction that a possible lifting of the arms embargo would bring with it unacceptable risks for UNPROFOR, would entail a change in the logic of peace-keeping and would require the withdrawal of the Force. Spain shares that view.

With regard to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the usefulness shown by the preventive deployment of the Force requires no additional study, now that we are proceeding to the renewal of its mandate. We subscribe to the Secretary-General's opinion, reflected in the resolution we have just adopted, that that Republic, along with Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), must reach without delay an agreement with the United Nations on the status of UNPROFOR forces.

We were pleased at the Secretary-General's initiative to request the support of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in order to have recourse to aerial power in the defence of UNPROFOR personnel and for the protection of the safe areas, in conformity with Security Council resolutions. Today NATO's decision, at the request of the Secretary-General, to extend the use of aerial power to the territory of Croatia, in defence of UNPROFOR, and to the safe area of Bihac, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, seems an equally wise decision. The Serbs, be they from Bosnia or from Croatia, should not forget that the terms of the decisions of the Security Council and NATO are still valid; nor should they harbour any doubts about the determination of the United Nations and NATO to apply those decisions when necessary.

Finally, I wish to recall that, in the final analysis, the resolution of conflicts in the former Yugoslavia is not in the hands of the international community or of UNPROFOR. A solution depends basically on the peoples of the region, and an essential element for achieving such a comprehensive settlement would be the mutual recognition, within their internationally recognized borders, of all the States that have emerged from the former Yugoslavia along with the rightful respect for and protection of the legitimate rights of minorities in each of those States. The efforts of all parties should be directed towards that end of achieving a negotiated comprehensive settlement, with the assistance and encouragement of the international community, through coordinated actions on the part of the United Nations, the Contact Group and the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, I should like to pay tribute once again to the men and women of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and reiterate our confidence in the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, Mr. Akashi, and the commanders of UNPROFOR, General de Lapresle and his colleagues.

I shall now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina has asked to make another statement, and I now call upon him.

Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina): Because of the sensitivity of the issue, although the arms embargo was not a direct matter for the Council's consideration today, I find it necessary to correct the representation made just now by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland regarding the compromise offer of our President, His Excellency Alija Izetbegovic, on this matter.

I emphasize that we have not agreed to a delay in the lifting of the arms embargo. Instead, His Excellency Alija Izetbegovic has clearly demanded the immediate, *de jure*, lifting of the arms embargo against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with only deferred application for six months. His Excellency Alija Izetbegovic has also emphasized that if this compromise offer is not effectuated, then we will reassert our right, and demand, for an immediate, de facto as well as *de jure*, lifting, even if undertaken by unilateral means.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: There are no further speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3434/Corr.1

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3434th Meeting

Friday, 30 September 1994, 5.50 p.m.

New York

Corrigendum

Page 12, fourth paragraph

Should read

We were pleased at the Secretary-General's initiative to request the support of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in order to have recourse to aerial power in the defence of UNPROFOR personnel and for the protection of the safe areas, in conformity with Security Council resolutions. Today NATO's decision, at the request of the Secretary-General, to extend the use of aerial power to the territory of Croatia, in defence of UNPROFOR in the safe area of Bihac, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, seems an equally wise decision. The Serbs, be they from Bosnia or from Croatia, should not forget that the terms of the decisions of the Security Council and NATO are still valid; nor should they harbour any doubts about the determination of the United Nations and NATO to apply those decisions when necessary.

94-86538 (E)

United Nations S/PV.3435

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3435th Meeting
Saturday, 8 October 1994, 1.05 p.m.
New York

President:	Sir David Hannay	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

94-86588 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1.05 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of October, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Juan Antonio Yañez-Barnuevo, Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of September 1994. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Yañez-Barnuevo for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/1137, which contains the text of a letter dated 6 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council notes with grave concern the statement issued on 6 October 1994 by the Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq. It underlines the complete unacceptability of the implication therein that Iraq may withdraw cooperation from the United Nations Special Commission. The Security Council emphasizes the necessity of full implementation of all its relevant resolutions, including full cooperation by Iraq, without interference, with the United Nations Special Commission's vital mission.

"The Security Council has also received with grave concern reports that substantial numbers of Iraqi troops, including units of the Iraqi Republican Guard, are being redeployed in the direction of the border with Kuwait.

"The Security Council therefore requests the Secretary-General to ensure that the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) redoubles its vigilance and reports immediately any violation of the demilitarized zone established under resolution 687 (1991) or any potentially hostile action.

"The Security Council reaffirms its commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait. It underlines Iraq's full responsibility to accept all the obligations contained in all its relevant resolutions and to comply fully therewith."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/58.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3436

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3436th Meeting
Friday, 14 October 1994, 10.30 a.m.
New York

President:	Sir David Hannay	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. He Yafei
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Mr. van Bohemen
	Nigeria	Mr. Uhomoibhi
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Shkourko
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. LaClaustra
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1994/1133)

94-86648 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1994/1133)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda, document S/1994/1133. I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/1115, which contains the text of a letter dated 28 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the Secretary-General's progress report on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) (S/1994/1133). The Council stresses the importance it attaches to the role of UNAMIR, whose neutral and independent presence is crucial to creating conditions of security. It welcomes the Secretary-General's revised deployment schedule for UNAMIR which is intended to promote security in all sectors of the country and create conditions conducive to the return of refugees. It also welcomes the assistance being provided by UNAMIR to the Government of Rwanda's efforts to establish a new integrated police force. It encourages UNAMIR to continue that assistance and asks the Secretary-General to provide it with detailed information on this programme.

"The Security Council remains extremely concerned at the plight of the millions of refugees and displaced persons in Rwanda and the countries of the region. It reiterates its view that their return to their homes is essential for the normalization of the situation in Rwanda and for the stabilization of the region. It deplores the continuing acts of intimidation and violence within the refugee camps which are designed to prevent the refugee population there from returning home. It welcomes the commitment of the Governments of Zaire, Tanzania and Burundi to help resolve the problems facing the refugees, and calls upon them to do all in their power to ensure the safety both of the refugees and of the international personnel providing humanitarian assistance to the refugees.

"The Security Council notes the view expressed in the report that the most effective way of ensuring the safety of the refugees and their freedom to return to Rwanda would be the separation of political leaders, former RGF soldiers and militias from the rest of the refugee population, and looks forward to receiving a further report from the Secretary-General on this issue, as soon as possible, based, *inter alia*, on the findings of the United Nations team participating in the joint Zairian/United Nations working group. It stresses once again the responsibilities which fall upon the neighbouring countries including that of ensuring that their territories are not used to destabilize the situation.

"The return of refugees is also crucially dependent upon the situation within Rwanda itself, including the existence of a climate of confidence and the establishment of a more secure environment. The Security Council notes the important role human rights monitors and their speedy deployment will have in this context and notes also the importance of cooperation between them and UNAMIR. The Security Council stresses the importance it attaches to UNAMIR having an effective broadcasting service to provide objective information. It hopes that the Government of Rwanda will assist in enabling the proposed United Nations radio station to come into operation as soon as possible.

"The Security Council welcomes the efforts being made by the Rwandan Government to facilitate the return of refugees and to begin the difficult process of national reconciliation and reconstruction in the country. It notes with concern reports that some reprisals may have occurred and affirms the importance It attaches to the avoidance of reprisals against returnees and to the safeguarding

of their property rights. It welcomes the speed with which the United Nations and the Government of Rwanda responded to allegations that some RPA soldiers might have been responsible for systematic killings. It underlines the importance it attaches to the thorough and expeditious investigation of these allegations.

"The Security Council welcomes the assurance given to Council members by President Bizimungu of his Government's commitment to achieving national reconciliation and promoting respect for the fundamental rights of individuals. The Security Council stresses the importance it attaches to the Government of Rwanda implementing this commitment. In this context it endorses the Secretary-General's call to the Government of Rwanda to maintain an open dialogue with all political interest groups in Rwanda in an effort to achieve genuine reconciliation between all elements of Rwandan society, within the frame of reference of the Arusha Peace Agreement. In particular, the Security Council encourages the Rwandan Government to continue its efforts to invite members of the MRND who were not involved in the massacres to participate in the Government and to absorb members of the former RGF into the new army.

"The Security Council reaffirms its view that those responsible for serious breaches of international humanitarian law and acts of genocide must be brought to justice. It stresses that persons involved in such acts cannot achieve immunity from prosecution by fleeing the country and notes that the provisions of the Convention relating to the status of refugees do not apply to such persons. In this context, the Council is currently considering the recommendations of the Commission of Experts in respect of the establishment of an international tribunal and will act expeditiously in the matter.

"The Security Council commends the assistance given by the international community, the UN agencies and non-governmental organizations in response to the crisis in Rwanda. It calls on them to maintain their support during the difficult transition period and to begin to redirect their support from relief to rehabilitation and reconstruction. It endorses the Secretary-General's views as to the importance of immediate and coordinated assistance, in particular to the restoration of civil administration and the reconstruction of the social and economic infrastructure of the country.

"The Security Council agrees with the Secretary-General that developments in Rwanda strengthen the case for a broader approach to the question of national reconciliation and other key aspects of the crisis. It encourages him to continue his consultations on how the United Nations can assist in the preparation and convening of an international conference to look into the problems of the subregion.

"The Security Council will remain seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/59.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 10.55 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3437

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3437th Meeting
Saturday, 15 October 1994, 3.35 p.m.
New York

President:	Sir David Hannay	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

94-86666 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Canada and Haiti, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table; Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) took the place reserved for her at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1169, which contains the text of a letter dated 15 October 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, annexed to which is a letter dated 15 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1163, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Canada, Djibouti, France, Pakistan, Spain, the United States of America and Venezuela.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1143, report of the Secretary-General on the question concerning Haiti; and S/1994/1148, letter dated 10 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the second report of the multinational force in Haiti to the Security Council submitted pursuant to resolution 940 (1994).

The first speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table.

Mrs. Fréchette (Canada): Mr. President, allow me first to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of October. As usual, your firm hand is providing steady leadership for Council proceedings this month. Let me also thank your predecessor, Ambassador Yañez-Barnuevo for his effective leadership during the month of September.

Today, President Aristide returned to Haiti. It is with great pleasure that I join with you, other members of the Security Council, the international community, but above all with the people of Haiti, in celebrating this historic occasion. This afternoon, in the presence of thousands of his fellow citizens and representatives from many countries, including my own Foreign Minister, President Aristide resumed office.

With this event, three long years of brutality have ended. We salute the courage of all those in Haiti who fought to bring democracy back to their country, and the memory of those, both well-known and unsung, who perished in the struggle. Their aspirations have prevailed.

The restoration of President Aristide to office is a success for the international community. The commitment and the combined efforts of individuals, groups and international organizations have been key to attaining this outcome. As one of the group of Friends of Haiti, Canada shares with tremendous satisfaction the realization of our common objectives.

(spoke in French)

The peaceful deployment of the multinational coalition under the authority of the United Nations has played a decisive role in establishing conditions which have allowed the return of President Aristide. We commend the coalition for its efforts.

Canada supports a rapid transition from the multinational operation to the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) when a secure and stable climate has been established in Haiti. We reiterate our commitment to take part in UNMIH, which will help Haitians to

consolidate peace and democracy and to build a stable society. We welcome the return of the joint United Nations/Organization of American States Civilian Mission, which also has an important role to play in this regard.

Haitians are already working to achieve these objectives. The Haitian Parliament is sitting once again and democratic leaders are resuming their duties. Canada firmly supports the appeal of President Aristide for cooperation and reconciliation at a time when Haiti is once again embarking upon the road to democracy.

President Aristide has asked the international community to support reconstruction efforts in Haiti. Haiti will need quick and considerable support. Last week, a group of donors, including Canada, worked together to eliminate arrears in Haitian debt to international financial institutions.

Canada intends to make a considerable contribution to the reconstruction efforts. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Canada today announced in Port-au-Prince that Canada will devote $30 million to this end in the next six months.

(spoke in English)

No one denies the dangers that still exist, the challenges that lie ahead, or the set-backs that might be experienced as Haiti finds its way. However, let us at least for today focus on what has been achieved: President Aristide has returned, democracy is being restored. Finally, Haitians can feel with confidence that they are leaving behind a dark episode and working towards a better future.

The President: I thank the representative of Canada for her kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Haiti. Before calling on him, may I just say in my own name my greatest congratulations on this very momentous day for his country. I now call on him.

Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) *(interpretation from French):* Just a few hours ago, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide returned to Haiti after three years of enforced exile in order to resume his duties and pursue the mandate entrusted to him by the Haitian people.

This is a great day for the Haitian people who, for three long years, have heroically resisted and fought to ensure that the military dictatorship did not become permanently installed in Haiti. This is a great day for Haiti because with peace restored, the people can devote itself to reconstruction and economic development. This is a great day for the international community, which put forth tremendous efforts to provide a solution to the tragic situation that the *coup d'état* had produced in Haiti. Finally, it is a great day for democracy, for which we all struggle, because this victory represents progress for democracy throughout the world.

The return of President Aristide once again demonstrates that when consensus is reached, the international community has the means to have its decisions implemented. A first step has been successfully taken. Much remains to be done to establish that democracy once and for all.

As you well know, democracy and development are related and there can be no true peace if the living conditions of the population are not improved. In that respect, we appeal to the international community to help us to rebuild a country that three years of depredations by a military regime have virtually ruined. We rely on the generous assistance of all our friends and international partners to enable us at least to cope with the obligations that are before us.

To conclude, let me once again, on behalf of the Haitian people and my Government, express heartfelt thanks to the international community, which has contributed so largely to the dawning of this day.

The President: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of October. My delegation feels reassured by your experience and skill that we shall have fruitful results from our deliberations this month.

We wish also to thank Ambassador Yañez-Barnuevo of Spain for the very able leadership he provided the Council last month.

In 1991 the fledgling democratic process which brought President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to the highest office in Haiti was brutally halted by the force of arms. Constitutional rule was trampled on by a junta, and appalling scenes of violence against human dignity became routine. The *coup d'état* against the constitutional President received the strongest condemnation from the Brazilian Government. We consistently supported the diplomatic efforts pursued by the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) and promptly implemented the embargo against the de facto authorities aimed at the re-establishment of democracy in Haiti.

Today we warmly welcome the return of President Aristide to Haiti. We are particularly honoured by the words that President Aristide expressed personally to our representative to the OAS in appreciation for Brazil's stance in the course of the process.

At the time of the adoption of Security Council resolution 940 (1994) the Brazilian delegation stated the view that the issue of using force under Chapter VII in relation to a country of the Western Hemisphere was a matter we regarded with the utmost seriousness. Our main reservations related to authorization for the establishment and deployment of a multinational force with a broad and vague mandate. Reservations were also expressed by Latin American countries non-members of the Security Council at the formal meeting when resolution 940 (1994) was adopted.

The draft resolution before us today contains concepts that my delegation cannot support. To do so would be inconsistent with the position taken by my delegation in relation to resolution 940 (1994), particularly in view of our respect for the principle of non-intervention contained in the Constitution of Brazil. We are not prepared to give retroactive endorsement to provisions of a draft resolution about which we have expressed reservations.

With the re-establishment of constitutional order in Haiti the challenging task of political and economic reconstruction is at the top of the agenda of the legitimate Government and will certainly require the firm support of the international community. Brazil stands ready to contribute actively in this effort.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): Permit me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. You have already demonstrated your well-known diplomatic skills in the efficient and admirable manner in which you have been conducting the affairs of the Council. Please be assured of my delegation's cooperation in the discharge of your important assignment.

I should also like to convey my delegation's gratitude to Ambassador Yañez-Barnuevo of Spain for the skilful and efficient manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of September.

My delegation welcomes the return today to Haiti of President Aristide. His peaceful return is due to the tremendous efforts of the United Nations, its Secretary-General, the regional organization and other Member States.

My delegation has been encouraged by the fact that the activities of the multinational force are creating the conditions under which the relevant Security Council resolutions and the provisions of the Governors Island Agreement are being implemented. We hope that the full and peaceful implementation of the Governors Island Agreement, freely entered into by the former military leaders and President Aristide, will now proceed expeditiously. This development gives my delegation the assurance that the prospects for peacefully resolving the Haitian crisis are better today than they would have been had forceful military intervention proceeded as planned.

Indeed, when my delegation supported resolution 940 (1994) it was not our judgement that, as of that time, the status of the problem justified forceful military intervention. That would have led to wanton loss of life and destruction of property in Haiti. Fortunately, wise counsel prevailed and the situation has now been resolved peacefully.

We hope that, with President Aristide's return, the processes of rehabilitation, reconstruction and, more important, national reconciliation will begin, with the support and encouragement of a determined people and the assistance of the international community. Our hope and wish is to see a Haiti that is at peace with itself, able to pursue its development in peace and dignity.

In the light of this expectation, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French)*: My delegation wishes to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I should like to take this opportunity also to thank the Ambassador of Spain for the competence and wisdom with which he conducted the Council's affairs last month.

The Rwandese delegation wishes to join with others in expressing joy at the return of President Aristide to his country and, hence, at the restoration of democracy in Haiti. We take this opportunity to congratulate the coalition of countries of the region, and other friends of Haiti, that have cooperated in the achievement of this objective. My delegation wishes peace and democracy to reign and become rooted in Haiti, and wishes the Haitians and their descendants to enjoy their benefits for a long time to come.

To this end we think that other steps should be taken so that Haiti will be able to reach the point of no return in peace and democracy. As is well known, there is neither peace nor democracy without development. Haiti, while it belongs to the Northern Hemisphere, has a population that is facing an economic situation which cannot be compared to that of the other countries of the region. Peace in poverty, democracy with a subjugated population: that is difficult for any Government, even the most democratic one, to deal with. That is why my delegation appeals to the countries of the region, which have just safeguarded democracy in Haiti, to replace military cooperation with lasting economic cooperation.

My delegation is convinced that this is the only way the people of Haiti and its Government will be able to enjoy democracy and lasting peace.

I shall vote for this draft resolution, considering it as fostering the beginning of new development for Haiti.

The President: I thank the representative of Rwanda for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1163.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

Brazil

The President: The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, none against and 1 abstention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 948 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. We look forward to a month of hard work led clearly and diplomatically. I would also like to thank the Permanent Representative of Spain for the excellent job he did during the preceding month.

Today, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has returned to Haiti. To President Aristide we say: *Bienvenue, Monsieur le Président*.

This is indeed a happy occasion. With the return of Haiti's freely elected leader to rightful rule, the first essential step has been completed towards national renewal under democratic government. This Council can and should rightfully take satisfaction from this success. For three years, the United Nations and the Organization of American States have toiled to achieve this moment. On behalf of my Government, I commend all those who have worked so hard for so long.

These years have seen moments of hope, as with the signing of the Governors Island Agreement, and moments of infamy, as with assassinations in Haiti of Guy Malary, Georges Ismery and Fr. Jean-Marie Vincent. Today we must remember the many thousands of Haitians who lost their lives during the years of brutal dictatorship.

Today, however, does not belong to the international community, not even to President Aristide. Today belongs to the people of Haiti. Today we must share their joy and celebrate the end of their oppression.

Our hopes and our prayers are with the people of Haiti as they begin to rebuild their country, as they begin to recover their fragile freedom, as they begin to restore an interrupted democracy and, most importantly, as they begin to reconcile, in the words of President Aristide, Haitians with Haiti. To the people of Haiti we say: We are with you and we will help you.

I must pay a special tribute to the personnel of the Multinational Force (MNF) in Haiti for their exemplary contribution in bringing Haiti to this day. These valiant women and men represent the finest traditions of the 30 nations from this region and other regions which are participating in this peaceful effort to bring democracy to Haiti. To the MNF we say: Well done, and thank you.

The hard work is not over. Today's triumph must not obscure tomorrow's tasks. The international community, and especially the United Nations, stand with the people of Haiti to assist their efforts at restoration, reconciliation and reconstruction. But let us not forget that it is only the people of Haiti who can ensure the success of democracy and the promise of prosperity.

In some months, the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), as authorized by this Council under resolution 940 (1994), will replace the MNF to continue the work already begun in Haiti. We look forward to that day and to a Haitian future of peace and democracy.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for her kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish):* At the outset, I wish to welcome your presidency, Sir, and to express thanks for the work done last month by the Spanish delegation, headed by Ambassador Yañez-Barnuevo. Allow me also to celebrate the presence in our midst of Ambassador Longchamp, this time with President Aristide back on Haitian soil.

The adoption of resolution 948 (1994) by the Security Council fills us with very special satisfaction. My country has been involved from the first in various aspects of the lengthy and at times painful resolution of the Haitian crisis: in the political efforts in the framework of the Organization of American States (OAS); in the group of Friends of the Secretary-General, where we worked and continue to work with the United States, France, Canada and fraternal Venezuela; and in terms of our participation in this organ of the United Nations; in the special task force entrusted with monitoring the sanctions imposed by the Council through the presence for many months of vessels of the Argentine Navy; in the group of observers along the Haitian-Dominican border through the presence of personnel from our national police force; in the Multinational Force (MNF), with 100 or so monitors from our police force and military support personnel, who are cooperating with the many other countries of the Caribbean and the rest of the region also at work in the MNF.

We shall continue to contribute personnel to the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) and, indirectly, through the presence of the former Special Envoy of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the OAS, Mr. Dante Caputo, to whom we pay a tribute for the courage and the tenacity he has shown in his efforts.

The Argentine presence at the national, regional and multinational levels through the various turns in the resolution of the Haitian crisis did not and will not have any other goal than the return to the process of democracy by that sister nation, its pacification and its dignified restoration to a community of nations in which democratic values and the respect and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms prevail.

That multiple goal is of the greatest importance, and it should of course prevail over any rhetoric. Despite advances, setbacks, and turns in the process of resolution of the Haitian crisis that was carried out with firmness through three years of dictatorial regime, we thought that, after the signing of the Governors Island Agreement, we were closer to a solution; but the stubbornness, lack of good faith and failure to keep their word of the de facto authorities who had seized power in Haiti extended and worsened the suffering of the Haitian people.

Nevertheless, we in this Council did not falter in our efforts. We continued to exert pressure: at first, through a regime of sanctions, until an unsustainable situation of violence and barbarism by the de facto authorities against the people of Haiti demonstrated that it was absolutely necessary to set in motion under the United Nations Charter, in conformity with its Articles, the machinery provided for in resolution 940 (1994). These peaceful

goals prevailed, and this led to a rebirth of hope among a people that had suffered so much and yet through all of this adversity had borne its burden with the utmost dignity.

Without the support of the members of the Council which made possible the adoption of resolution 940 (1994), the present situation would not have come about. To all of them, we offer our appreciation.

It remains only for me to renew Argentina's commitment to continue working in support of Haiti with the same conviction and spirit that have motivated us thus far, and to express a heartfelt tribute to all the individuals who have committed their efforts to this noble cause, from the personnel of the International Civilian Mission (MICIVIH), who went through such difficult moments in the field, to the humanitarian aid organizations and the staff of the Secretariat, who on more than one occasion risked their safety in this common endeavour. We hail especially the personnel of the Multinational Force in Haiti, and the countries of the region and outside it that are standing there with us, each playing its role, but all with the same objective: to return to the people of Haiti the sovereignty that has been taken from them. All of these groups have fully carried out the mandate of the international community and have done so with a sense of responsibility in keeping with the circumstances they have had to face.

Today, we come to the end of a chapter that some believed could not be finished. It fuelled the hope of a people that today, along with its martyrs, is celebrating the rediscovery of freedom. To President Aristide, we say: "Welcome home." We also welcome his clearly conciliatory attitude. However, today certainly does not mark the end of the task to which we have committed ourselves on behalf of the people of Haiti and for the reconstruction of that country.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French)*: Mr. President, the French delegation would like to express to you its pleasure at seeing you leading the work of the Council for this month with your well-known skill. I should also like to tell the Ambassador of Spain how grateful we are to him for the manner in which he performed his duties as President last month.

My delegation voted with a very great sense of satisfaction in favour of the resolution welcoming the return of President Aristide to Haiti and recognizing the efforts of the Multinational Force that, in fact, made his return possible. This is a major success for the international community and for the Security Council, which, notwithstanding the many setbacks, has pursued the goal embodied in the Governors Island Agreement and reaffirmed in all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

I am pleased that after these three long years Ambassador Longchamp is here with us today to share in this success.

In this connection my delegation regrets that the Council was not able to hail this clear success of the international community with unanimity. Whatever reservations were expressed when resolution 940 (1994) was adopted, no one can now refuse to acknowledge that without the deployment of the Multinational Force in Haiti President Aristide would not have returned to his country today and the Haitian people would have continued to suffer military dictatorship and to live in poverty. Hope has thus been restored to the people of Haiti, along with their ability freely to choose their own future.

My delegation would like once again to pay a tribute to the leaders of the Multinational Force and all those participating in it. I would reiterate that my country will contribute substantially to the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), which we hope will take up its functions as quickly as possible.

The President: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like at the outset to express to you, Mr. President, the Spanish delegation's satisfaction at seeing you leading the Council's work with your accustomed ability and authority. I need hardly say that you will at all times have my delegation's full cooperation.

I should also like to thank you, on behalf of my delegation, for the kind words you addressed to me at an earlier meeting with reference to Spain's presidency during the month of September and to express my gratitude for similar kind words voiced by other members today.

Today is a day of celebration for the Haitian people, for the United Nations and for the international community as a whole. Accordingly, my delegation extends heartfelt congratulations to the Permanent

Representative of Haiti, Ambassador Longchamp of Haiti. Indeed, we can all feel great satisfaction at what has taken place today in Port-au-Prince.

Just over three years ago, on 30 September 1991, a *coup d'état* led by the head of the Haitian armed forces, a man appointed by President Aristide himself, expelled the legitimate President from the country, a President who had been elected months earlier with the overwhelming support of the Haitian people. With that, there came to a temporary end a promising chapter in Haiti's history, one that had begun with the holding of open, democratic elections recognized as such by the United Nations and other international observers.

Unfortunately, it began to seem that at each turn in Haiti's history a new threat loomed on its horizon. At the end of the long Duvalier dictatorship, the military leaders who succeeded him showed contempt for the will of the Haitian people, and, after the return to democracy with the election of President Aristide, another military junta emerged to subjugate and exploit the Haitian people.

Since that time, the international community has stood alongside the Haitian people in their attempts to return to the constitutional order wrested from them by force of arms. The situation in Haiti has not been critical only for that country's people, since, owing to the exceptional circumstances inherent in this case, the entire region has risked destabilization because of a humanitarian crisis that has led, at times, to massive displacements of population.

In light of that situation, the Organization of American States recommended the adoption of measures that, in essence, constituted a trade embargo. The United Nations General Assembly, which has been seized of this matter since the moment the *coup d'état* occurred, beginning in October 1991 adopted a series of resolutions condemning the military regime and calling for a return to constitutional legality. On 3 July 1993 we also witnessed the signing of the Governors Island Agreement. Earlier, the Security Council had adopted resolution 841 (1993), which provided for a set of sanctions to oblige the de facto authorities to come to the negotiating table, thereby leading to that Agreement, the implementation of which then became the cornerstone of the international community's efforts. Today, 15 months later, we can say that those efforts have been crowned with success.

The contributions of many States and international organizations, as well as of many people both within and outside Haiti, have enabled President Aristide, a few hours ago, 11 days after his address to the United Nations General Assembly, to fulfil the promise he made when he stated: "In 11 days I shall be in Haiti" *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary meetings, 17th meeting (A/49/PV.17))*. And so he is.

In the last few hours the Haitian people have recovered their legitimate institutions and the President they democratically elected three years ago. Within a few hours, most of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council will have been definitely lifted.

This is not the end of the road. Haiti's journey is just beginning. Today, the Haitian people, with the support and assistance of the international community, must now bend themselves to the task of consolidating democracy, of national reconciliation, of economic development and of social justice.

In his recent address to the General Assembly, President Aristide described an ambitious programme of reconstruction leading up to the bicentenary of Haiti's independence in the year 2004, within a decade. The fulfilment of that programme presupposes and requires the help and cooperation of the international community, an international community that has placed the military and police forces contributed to the Multinational Force by 30 countries - the large part, I would emphasize, by the United States - at the service of restoring democracy to Haiti; an international community that will soon be deploying monitors in the International Civilian Mission made up jointly by the United Nations and the Organization of American States to supervise respect for human rights in Haiti; an international community that will later proceed to help Haiti make its police and armed forces more modern and professional through the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti, in which Spain intends to participate.

All those endeavours form part of the letter and the spirit of resolution 948 (1994), which the Council has just adopted. For that reason Spain joined the group of Friends of the United Nations Secretary-General for Haiti and other members of the Council in sponsoring the resolution, and not only because it reviews a past that has had a successful outcome, but also because it contains the beginnings of a future that we foretell will be better for the Haitian people.

The President: I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: I should like, first, on behalf of the delegation of the Russian Federation, to congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council and to wish you success in your responsible work.

Likewise, I express our gratitude to the Ambassador of Spain for his successful work as President of the Council during September.

The Russian delegation would like to express its satisfaction over an important event in the life of the Haitian people - the return to Haiti of the country's legitimate President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. This event marks the beginning of a new, promising stage in the achievement of a settlement for this long-suffering country, which we hope will now be able to overcome the legacy of military dictatorship and restore democratic institutions in a spirit of true national reconciliation.

In this connection, we think it important that the Council's decision today demonstrates its support for the efforts of President Aristide and those of the legitimate Government of Haiti, which are aimed at bringing Haiti out of its crisis to become a fully fledged member of the community of democratic States.

We also draw attention to the efforts of the Multinational Force in Haiti in the establishment of a secure and stable environment - a key factor for Haiti's return to normal life. We hope that the Multinational Force will carry out its mandate in accordance with Security Council resolution 940 (1994). We proceed on the basis that in due course the Council will have to analyse the situation in connection with the requirements of paragraph 8 of that resolution, a necessary condition for a decision by the Council to proceed to the second stage of the United Nations operation. Like other delegations in the Council, the Russian delegation intends, in this regard, to give special attention to the criteria for conducting peace-keeping operations - criteria that are becoming a regular feature of the Council's consideration of such problems.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.

United Nations

S/PV.3438

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3438th Meeting

Saturday, 15 October 1994, 11.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Sir David Hannay	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

94-86672 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Kuwait, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1164, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, France, Oman, Rwanda, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revisions to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1164 in its provisional form. The first line of the first preambular paragraph should read as follows: "Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, and reaffirming resolutions". In the third line of the eighth preambular paragraph, the word "underlining" should be underscored.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/1994/1137, letter dated 6 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1149, letter dated 10 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1162, letter dated 14 October 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1994/1165, letter dated 14 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council have also received photocopies of a letter dated 14 October 1994 from the representatives of Iraq and the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of the Joint Communique issued on 13 October 1994 on the outcome of the meeting in Baghdad.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): My delegation welcomes the current initiatives being undertaken by a number of States to address a perceived destabilization of the status quo that existed between Iraq and Kuwait prior to 6 October. The Council's presidential statement of 8 October 1994 was an appropriate response to the statement of the Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq as well as to the reports of troop movements. That we are revisiting the question a week later is testimony to one desire of the international community: to maintain a hands-on policy on the situation in that region, especially given its potential for constituting a threat to international peace and security.

My Government wishes to reiterate its belief that relations between States should be built on peaceful coexistence and mutual respect for one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We also recognize the sovereign right of every State to determine the direction and content of its domestic policies, including measures deemed necessary for the defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, provided those policies and activities do not constitute a threat to its

neighbours or have the potential of undermining international peace and security.

The international community, and more particularly the Security Council, has been seized of the Iraq-Kuwait matter for more than four years now. The dispute has been the subject of numerous Council resolutions, all of which were aimed at resolving all implications of the problem, thus bringing a final solution to the matter. The obligations these resolutions imposed on all Member States, in particular Iraq, were mandatory and non-negotiable. Prospects for peace in that area rested on the full implementation of all those relevant resolutions of the Council. Since becoming a member of the Security Council, my delegation has emphasized the obligation of Iraq fully to accept and implement all those resolutions.

My delegation was encouraged by the fact that Iraq has been showing willing cooperation with the Security Council in the implementation of the relevant resolutions addressing the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait. As a delegation, we had acknowledged the positive steps Iraq had taken to implement section C of resolution 687 (1991), as well as resolution 715 (1991) on the establishment of a mechanism for monitoring and verifying Iraq's armament industry. Only this week, the Council had received the report of its Special Commission, which confirmed that the system of monitoring and verification was provisionally operational. This is a significant and encouraging development when viewed on its own.

The events since 6 October 1994, however, have been a cause for concern to the international community. The State of Kuwait and its people have a right to live in peace within secure borders and in the full enjoyment of their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We believe also that Iraq has a responsibility to accept and acknowledge unambiguously the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

My Government, of course, takes note of the announcement by the Government of Iraq that it is redeploying its forces to different positions. We welcome the fact that this withdrawal and redeployment have commenced. We hope that the redeployment will be completed expeditiously so as to lessen tension in the region.

In that light, my delegation will support the present draft resolution.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French):* The movement of Iraqi troops towards the Kuwaiti border was a cause of concern to my country, especially since we still remember Iraq's invasion of Kuwait a little more than three years ago. Rwanda has just emerged from a war and other terrible atrocities, and my Government is particularly sensitive to what is happening and what could happen in Kuwait. My delegation agreed to join in sponsoring the draft resolution before the Council as a sign that it condemns Iraq's conduct, which continues to jeopardize peace and stability in Kuwait and throughout the region.

My delegation is convinced that the only way to establish peace in the region is for Iraq to comply with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, including resolution 833 (1993), relating to respect for the sovereignty of Kuwait, recognition of its international borders and the release of prisoners of war. My delegation hopes that additional efforts will be made to ensure that Iraq respects and implements those three provisions.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* The achievement of a lasting post-crisis settlement in the Persian Gulf region remains one of the priorities of Russian diplomacy. We continue to believe that Iraq must comply with all relevant Security Council resolutions; only this can lead to the normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf.

Another important element in our approach is the need for Iraq's full cooperation with the United Nations in order to overcome the consequences of the conflict and for the Council to respond properly to indications of a constructive attitude in the policies of the Government of Iraq.

The dramatic turn of events in the region in recent days clearly showed the danger of the continuing failure to resolve the consequences of the 1990 Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. All together, we must seek ways to resolve the pending problems.

As members know, on instructions from the President of the Russian Federation, Mr. Boris N. Yeltsin, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Mr. Andrei V. Kozyrev, made an emergency visit to Baghdad and held talks with the Iraqi leadership. During those contacts, Russia indicated that it favoured decisive action to prevent the escalation of tension and to turn the situation back in the direction of diplomatic

efforts that could ultimately lead to the attainment of security and reliable stability in the region. As a result, Iraq has officially proclaimed, and as of today has virtually completed, the withdrawal of its troops to rear positions.

It is vitally important that the joint Russian-Iraqi communiqué establishes Iraq's willingness positively to resolve the question of the recognition of the sovereignty and borders of Kuwait as determined pursuant to Security Council resolution 833 (1993).

Therefore, the agreements reached open the way to a military détente between Iraq and Kuwait and help to advance an overall post-crisis settlement.

On that basis the Russian delegation suggested that the Security Council not take any decisions on Iraq until the Russian Foreign Minister had completed his visit to the region and had come to New York to participate in the Council's meeting. We thought that was entirely justified since the Russian Foreign Minister had held, in Iraq and in other countries of the region, negotiations on problems which are now before the Council for consideration and which are partially reflected in the draft resolution submitted by the sponsors.

We note with regret that the Council has acted hastily when it was possible to wait for - literally - a few hours. At the same time, we note that the sponsors of the draft resolution did take into account some of our concerns and those of some other delegations and have agreed to some amendments that have made the text more balanced. In particular, I would stress that the draft resolution does not contain any provisions that could have served as justification for the use of strikes or force. It is important that the draft reflect the results of the visit of the Russian Foreign Minister to the region and, in particular, that it welcome diplomatic efforts to find a political solution to the crisis as well as Iraq's willingness to resolve positively the question of the recognition of the sovereignty and borders of Kuwait.

For that reason the Russian delegation will support the draft resolution. In addition, we shall vote in favour of it because authoritative leaders of countries in the region, in particular Sheikh Al-Sabah, the Emir of Kuwait, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and Sheik Zayed Al Nuhayyan of the United Arab Emirates, have made an urgent request to Russia to maintain unity within the Council on this question in the interest of establishing security and stability in the Persian Gulf region.

Looking to the future, I should like to stress the importance of the Council's adopting decisions that truly seek to eliminate the root causes of instability in the Persian Gulf region and not to deal solely with their symptoms. Otherwise, we will only be forcing the disease to deeper levels and acting as mere spectators to its recurrence, postponing the advent of security and reliable stability in the region.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1164, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 949 (1994).

I shall now call upon those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): We are all familiar with Santayana's warning that those who forget the past are doomed to relive it. Four years ago last August the world witnessed a chilling sequence of events: Iraqi propaganda and public statements began to portray Iraq as the victim of an international conspiracy; Kuwait, and its leaders in particular, were the subject of vitriolic attacks; elite units of the Republican Guard began to deploy to staging areas on Kuwait's borders; logistical components of these units were activated, suggesting that this was no drill. On 2 August 1990 the Iraqi army crossed the border and began its rape of Kuwait.

Beginning last week, Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council issued a bellicose statement threatening to end cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission and accusing Kuwait and the members of the United Nations Security Council of seeking to "kill as many Iraqis as possible". Simultaneously, Iraqi Republican Guard Units, including many of the same units used in 1990, began moving towards the Kuwaiti border. Over the past week these units assembled in precisely the same

marshalling areas used in 1990. As in 1990, ammunition, communications and logistic support were all an integral part of this last mobilization.

Security Council vigilance, effective coalition preparedness and all-too-frequent experience with Iraq's unreliability have ensured that Santayana's warning does not apply in this Chamber. We are determined - and have acted in such a manner - to see that this piece of history does not repeat itself.

The Iraqi deployment of troops to Kuwait's border is a blatant attempt by Iraq to bully the United Nations Security Council into negotiating on its terms the lifting of oil-export sanctions. This Council will not be intimidated by this tactic. Such a provocative and foolish act was not necessary. Had Saddam Hussein done what we all know needs to be done -complied with all Council resolutions and proven Iraq's "peaceful intentions" - that easing of sanctions would have occurred in its own proper time. By this action, however, Iraq has set back its own cause. Can anyone seriously suggest that this act characterizes a nation intent on showing its peaceful intentions? Is there anyone who would subscribe to these Iraqi terms for gaining its re-entry into the community of responsible nations?

The extreme irony is that some have attributed this action to Iraqi impatience with its population's suffering and a desire to break out of the stranglehold sanctions have imposed. Yet Iraqi authorities have enough money to maintain one of the largest armies and enough money to pay for military operations, whether to suppress the Marsh Arabs or to threaten Kuwait. It should by now be clear to all that the Iraqi Government is responsible for the suffering of the Iraqi people.

Iraqi troops have begun to redeploy, albeit ambiguously, in a manner very similar to the duplicitous approach Iraq has taken in its diplomatic responses to the United Nations over the past four years. While claiming that Iraqi troops have withdrawn completely, in fact one division of Republican Guards has pulled back to Nasariyah, only an hour from the Kuwaiti border. Yet again, Iraq seems to have learned nothing and forgotten everything. Yet again, Saddam Hussein seeks to test this Chamber's resolve to deal with the threat to Kuwait.

It is for these reasons that this resolution we have adopted today is so critical. The message in this resolution is clear. Iraq must withdraw all military units deployed to the south to their original positions. It must not take any action to enhance its military capabilities in southern Iraq. Iraq must never again use its military to threaten its neighbours or the United Nations operations in Iraq. It must also cooperate with the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM). Because the Government of Iraq is not credible, it must be judged by what it verifiably does, not by what it says. We cannot allow threats of unprovoked aggression to burgeon into the reality of renewed aggression.

Iraq's record under Saddam Hussein's leadership is one littered with broken commitments. Had we accepted Saddam's word at any time that he would meet the obligations which have been imposed upon him and thereby let down our guard, we might be having a different kind of discussion here today, perhaps one involving how to reverse a second Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. Whatever his motive, whatever his objective, whatever his claim, it is only international political and military reaction that have stopped this hostile action dead in its tracks.

More than four years after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, why should it be so difficult for Iraq to comply with the United Nations Security Council resolution 833 (1993) and recognize Kuwait's borders with Iraq? I would remind members that in 1991 Iraq said it accepted Security Council resolution 687 (1991) and that it recognized Kuwait's borders. Yet, over the past three years it has consistently refused to utter the name "Kuwait", instead continually referring to Kuwait as Iraq's nineteenth province. The events of the last week should leave no doubt that Iraqi promises have no value.

That is why Iraq's recent statement about its readiness to recognize Kuwaiti sovereignty and borders leaves us unconvinced. For it to have any value, this statement must be followed by unambiguous action. Iraq must recognize Kuwait's sovereignty, territorial integrity and borders in the same manner it purported to annex Kuwait: with a statement ratified by the Revolutionary Command Council and by the Iraqi Parliament, published in the *Official Gazette* and communicated formally to the Security Council.

Let us be clear about the facts: Iraqi spokesmen are engaged in a concerted effort to define truth as lies and lies as truth. They will not succeed. If Iraq's goal is to gain the lifting of sanctions, it can do so by complying with the resolutions of the Security Council. If Iraqi leaders are concerned at the plight of the Iraqi people, let them make use of the humanitarian exemptions that currently exist and let them cease the campaign of terror

they have waged against their citizens in the north and south. Moreover, those in Baghdad believe our vigilance in the south means that we will ignore Iraqi military moves in the north, they are dead wrong.

This unanimous vote should send a clear message: let Iraq be warned and let it fully understand that it should not miscalculate the firmness, unity, and resolve of this Council and the international community to counter further challenges to the peace and security of Kuwait, the region, and the world.

In closing, let me assure this Council that pursuant to the resolutions of this Council and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, my Government will take all appropriate action if Iraq fails to comply with the demands of this resolution.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French):* The deployment of Iraqi troops towards the Kuwaiti border was a deplorable development to which it was proper for the Security Council to react as it did. The Iraqi action, which contradicted the assurances of cooperation offered over the last few months, made it necessary for the Security Council to remind Iraq of the obligations to which it must comply and to assure the international community of its resolve to guarantee peace and security in that region.

My delegation co-sponsored resolution 949 (1994) whose two main objectives we agree with fully. We must have Iraq fully withdraw the forces it deployed in recent days in the direction of the Kuwaiti border. In addition, we must insist that Iraq abstain in the future from undertaking similar actions. This is one of the conditions for us to be assured of its peaceful intentions.

This resolution requires that Iraq refrain from adopting a hostile or provocative stance with regard to its neighbours and the United Nations. It would be the task of the Security Council to take up any action on the part of Iraq which could be regarded as non-compliance with this present resolution. In the event the Council were led to take such a decision, Iraq is aware of the serious consequences to which it would be exposed.

My delegation calls on the Iraqi authorities to implement all resolutions of the Security Council and to cooperate fully with the Council, and particularly with the Special Commission. I emphasize in particular the information reaching us regarding the declared intention of the Iraqi authorities to undertake to respect the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Kuwait. Resolution 833 (1993) must be implemented without delay and with the utmost precision. We call on the Iraqi authorities to proceed with this implementation in due form. This would constitute considerable progress in the right direction.

Resolution 949 (1994) quite properly reminds Iraq of all of its obligations. Those relating to the fate of prisoners and missing persons as well as those relating to the respect of human rights in Iraq remain of the greatest importance to the French authorities.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): Let me first congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency this month. Your well-known diplomatic skills, which thankfully include a sometimes acerbic wit, will no doubt allow the Council to dispatch its work in a particularly efficient manner. I also wish to thank Ambassador Juan Antonio Yañez-Barnuevo for the careful, methodical and very effective way he handled the Council's business in the month of September.

A small country is bound to be nervous when a powerful neighbour starts moving troops for no apparent reason towards its borders. It will be doubly nervous when the neighbour in question is one which has occupied the small country only a short time previously, one which has a history of publicly referring to the small country as one of its own provinces, and one which continues to withhold an unequivocal declaration recognizing the small country's sovereignty and borders. My country has in living memory experienced the shadow of precisely such troop movements, manoeuvres, and declarations doubting its international legitimacy. To this day, historians argue whether an entirely different course of European history might not have ensued if the international community had demonstrated a stiffer resolve in 1938, for example.

An overwhelming majority of these United Nations are small nations such as Kuwait or my own. It is therefore imperative that in safeguarding international peace and security the Security Council should address, in particular, military challenges to which such small nations are exposed.

In the case of Kuwait, history teaches vigilance. There is an entire booklet of resolutions that this body passed in the aftermath of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. In 1990, the international community rallied in defence of this small, vastly outgunned Member, and

threw the aggressor out. My country is proud to have made its own modest contribution to that effort.

But there is a Czech saw that describes the uninvited guest who is thrown out of the door but finds his way back through the window. This Council has done a lot to reduce the menace that Iraq poses to Kuwait, but Iraq has by its recent actions demonstrated that it may still be looking for some windows. The resolute stance of the international community, including the rapid response of United States and allied troops and this Council's own unequivocal presidential statement of exactly a week ago, have led to a withdrawal of the menacing Iraqi troops. Whether this withdrawal has been partial or total is a matter of debate, but our resolution, among other things, leaves no doubt that a total withdrawal has to be effected and similar troop movements may not recur.

Meanwhile, other diplomatic initiatives are under way. We welcome Foreign Minister Kozyrev's visit to the area and are looking forward to his impending visit to New York. We always prefer diplomacy to sabre-rattling and, in truth, Iraq's reported recent statements to Minister Kozyrev would have been much more welcome if loud sabre-rattling had not preceded them.

Together with the rest of the Council, my country reaffirms the need for Iraq to recognize, at the highest official level, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait in its internationally recognized borders. That is a long-standing and immutable position of the international community. It is also important for my Government, though, that this resolution in no way questions the territorial integrity of Iraq. The main demand on Iraq is that it assume the standard posture of all of us, Members of these United Nations, which, to quote the preamble to our Charter, includes our determination

> "to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

Iraq has to become a good neighbour to all of its neighbours, and to that end has to respect the provisions of all relevant Security Council resolutions.

The President: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): At the outset I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Council for this month. We are confident that with your wisdom and vast experience you will lead our work successfully. My delegation assures you of our fullest cooperation at all times.

At the same time, we wish to convey our gratitude to the Ambassador of Spain for a job well done last month.

The Security Council, having reviewed the latest Iraqi military deployment along Kuwait's border, which once again renewed tension in the region, has just adopted resolution 949 (1994), for which we voted in favour.

We in the Sultanate of Oman believe that the adoption of today's resolution will contribute towards strengthening peace and stability in the region. Furthermore, we believe that it gives our brothers in Iraq another chance to prove their good intentions and to prove that they are serious about their ability to live in peaceful coexistence with their neighbours.

Our understanding in the Sultanate of Oman of resolution 949 (1994) is that it addresses the urgent situation in the region as a result of the latest Iraqi military action. It aims at preventing a repeat of such action. In our understanding, again, this resolution is not by any means related to the question of the lifting or non-lifting of the sanctions. Oman believes a distinction has to be drawn between earlier Security Council resolutions and today's resolution.

While welcoming the statement made by the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation regarding Iraq's readiness to recognize Kuwait and the border agreement between the two countries, in accordance with resolution 833 (1993), we call upon our brothers in Iraq to translate such readiness into actual implementation. Such a step, in our opinion, will contribute towards strengthening peace and stability in the region and serve the interests of the brotherly people of Iraq.

My country has repeatedly voiced through this respected forum its understanding of the plight of the Iraqi people as a result of continued economic sanctions imposed on their country. Oman and other States have worked together to find a way out and to help Iraq pass through the crisis of the sanctions regime within the framework and modalities of relevant Security Council resolutions and the United Nations Special Commission responsible for the destruction of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. None the less, the recent action taken by Iraq to deploy its forces on the southern frontier along

the border with Kuwait brought fear and concern about the peace and stability of the region, all of which weakened our endeavours and efforts.

In conclusion, we are fully convinced that the outstanding problems will be resolved in the best way only through Iraq's close cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission and through the Iraqi authorities' implementing all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, with, in particular, recognition of Kuwaiti sovereignty and respect for the borders agreement, in accordance with resolution 833 (1993).

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The recent deployment of a large number of Iraqi troops towards the border with Kuwait caused serious concern to the Spanish Government. For some days the world lived under the terrible threat that had led to the Gulf War in 1990.

So the Security Council reacted clearly and swiftly in a presidential statement on 8 October, expressing the Council's grave concern over the troop movements and reaffirming Iraq's responsibility to comply with its obligations contained in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

I would also like to recall that on 11 October the European Union issued a statement urging Iraq immediately to withdraw its troops from the border region, to refrain from confrontation and to cooperate fully in the implementation of the Council's resolutions. The Iraqi troop movements and the threat they implied forced the States in the region, with support from other States, to react immediately through preventive and defensive deployment to protect Kuwait, to whose sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity the Security Council is committed.

Spain shares in that commitment, and does so actively and resolutely, as it did during the Gulf crisis in 1990-1991. In that connection, I should like to put on record the broad logistical support offered by the Spanish authorities, to the United States in particular, to facilitate this preventive deployment, which has been timely and useful in confronting the new Iraqi threat.

The determination shown by the international community was decisive in quickly bringing about the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from their positions near the Kuwait border. We trust that the withdrawal of those forces to their bases will be completed as soon as possible, as the Iraqi Government has stated.

Resolution 949 (1994), which we have just adopted, is an important step forward in preventing any repetition of similar situations which might entail a danger to Kuwait and other neighbours of Iraq.

In my delegation's view, the provisions of paragraph 4 should, as is clear from its opening words, be read in conjunction with the content of paragraph 3; the Security Council's demand that Iraq not take any measures to strengthen its military capacity in the southern part of the country refers to the activities described in paragraph 3 - that is, activities involving the use of forces in a hostile or provocative manner to threaten either its neighbours or United Nations operations in Iraq.

While there should be no troop movements or redeployments whatsoever that could threaten neighbouring countries, in the view of my delegation Iraq should not be prohibited from keeping defensive units of a reasonable size in a large part of its territory, particularly in Basra, the second city of Iraq.

Along the same lines we should recall that the Security Council has reaffirmed in this resolution its commitment to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence not only of Kuwait, but also of Iraq. The Council's resolutions, including the one we have just adopted, are directed not against Iraq as a country, but, rather, against aggressive actions by the Iraqi regime in the recent past and threatening, bullying attitudes that are still being adopted today.

Spain hopes that the Government of Iraq will understand the very clear message contained in resolution 949 (1994) and that, seeing that its recent action will not contribute in any way to improving its situation *vis-à-vis* the international community, it will withdraw completely the troops it recently deployed and will in future refrain from carrying out military movements that might endanger international peace and security in the area. Then, if the Government of Iraq truly desires to take effective steps to be reintegrated into the international community, it should clearly and unequivocally recognize Kuwait's sovereignty and independence as well as its borders, which are guaranteed under Security Council resolution 833 (1993). It should also collaborate fully

and sincerely with the United Nations in fulfilling its other obligations under Security Council resolutions.

For the good of the people of Iraq and for the sake of peace in the region, it is to be hoped that all this will come to pass - and the sooner the better.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): Congratulations, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency this month. Our thanks go also to the Ambassador of Spain for his work as President last month.

For New Zealand - and, I think, for all the small countries of the world - the great importance of the United Nations is that it provides a framework for collective security. It provides hope for small countries that cannot defend themselves against aggression.

Four years ago, Iraq, a large and very powerful country, brutally attacked and occupied its small neighbour, Kuwait. Then, as now, New Zealand gave very strong support to Kuwait. We also supported the firm and determined response by the United Nations to evict Iraq's forces from Kuwait. In 1990 and 1991 the Security Council did what it had to do: it exercised its responsibilities under the Charter in the face of aggression and took the necessary measures to restore international peace and security.

Last week it seemed possible that an attempt was being made to repeat that history. A large and aggressively configured military force was deployed by Iraq towards Kuwait. That deployment constituted a threat to regional peace and security, and the gravity of the threat is exacerbated not only by the events of 1990 but all the more by the fact that in the intervening period Iraq has stubbornly failed to recognize Kuwait's sovereignty and its borders.

This kind of equivocation leaves doubt about Iraq's peaceful intentions. It raises fears that Iraq continues to harbour aggressive designs towards Kuwait. The situation is further compounded by the fact that Iraq also defies its legal obligations under the United Nations Charter by virtue of resolutions of this Council.

In the face of such an aggressive threat, in the face of such equivocation and defiance, it is necessary for the Council to again exercise its responsibilities under Chapter VII of the Charter. We must make it plain to Iraq, as we have done tonight in resolution 949 (1994), that such threatening behaviour is unacceptable. It must not be repeated.

Because Iraq has raised new doubts about its peaceful intentions, it was necessary and desirable that this resolution lay down some very clear markers about future troop deployments. We reject the argument that Iraq is free to deploy its forces however it wishes within its borders. Given its past aggressive wars, its equivocation about the sovereignty of its neighbour and its threatening moves last week, the Security Council has a responsibility to take certain protective measures, including requiring Iraq not to redeploy its forces to the south again.

The President: I thank the representative of New Zealand for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* At the outset I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council this month. I believe that under your outstanding and skilful leadership, the Council will be successful in its work this month.

I would also like to thank Ambassador Yáñez-Barnuevo, who, as President of the Council in September, successfully guided us in our work last month.

The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned over the recent developments in the Gulf region and hopes the tension there can be eased as soon as possible. We have taken note of the fact that the Iraqi Government has begun to withdraw its troops, which is conducive to the relaxation of tensions in the region. We hope that all the parties concerned will exercise restraint and continue their efforts for peace so that tensions in the region can be eased and eliminated.

The Chinese Government has all along stood for a peaceful settlement of the problems left over from the Gulf war, on the basis of the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, so as to achieve lasting peace and stability in the Gulf region as early as possible.

Kuwait being a State Member of the United Nations, we reaffirm that its sovereignty and territorial integrity should be respected by the international community. We urge Iraq to continue to cooperate with the United Nations in fully and practically implementing the relevant

resolutions of the Council in order to create favourable conditions for the early easing and lifting of sanctions, and we hope it will do so.

On the basis of these considerations, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the resolution the Council adopted today. It should be noted that our favourable vote on this resolution does not signify any change in our reservations regarding other relevant resolutions of the Council, including resolution 678 (1990).

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Argentine delegation deeply regrets that the Council has again had to adopt a resolution in connection with the conflict initiated by Iraq when it invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990, this time as a result of a large-scale military deployment recently carried out by Iraq in the direction of its border with Kuwait.

Without any doubt, this act must be seen as either a threat or a provocation directed at Kuwait and, hence, at the international community as a whole. In either case it represents a threat to international peace and security and quite definitely a loss of credibility for Iraq.

Information provided to the Council that has been repeated and updated suggests that now many of the troops redeployed by Iraq have begun to return to where they came from. This is no doubt due to the swift and decisive reaction of various States that hastened to lend their support once again to Kuwait. However, this information, which we appreciate, also indicates that a substantial number of Republican Guard units are still stationed in the southern part of Iraq in positions that are clearly threatening.

The resolution that we have just adopted, of which my delegation is a sponsor, is designed to condemn Iraq for this and to require that it immediately complete the withdrawal of its troops and refrain in future from threatening or provoking Kuwait or any other countries in the region. Iraq must realize that the international community is and will continue to be particularly vigilant in preventing any repetition of the circumstances that led to the invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

There are, nevertheless, some indications that can be regarded as encouraging in that it seems that Iraq is ready to explicitly recognize the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait and the borders demarcated in resolution 833 (1993). We trust that very soon, and without any doubts or conditions, this will be confirmed through an explicit and unequivocal statement and other official actions by the Iraqi Government pursuant to its constitutional norms. In this way, one of Iraq's main obligations pursuant to resolutions adopted by the Security Council will have been complied with.

We also hope that the other obligations mentioned in the various resolutions of the Security Council will be fully complied with by Iraq. The sooner this happens, the readier the international community will be to consider lifting the sanctions imposed on Iraq following its aggression against Kuwait in 1990.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): It is a source of great pleasure for my delegation to see you, Mr. President, once again at the helm of the affairs of the Security Council. We are confident that under your impeccable direction the Council's work during the current month will be as rewarding as it will be productive.

I should also like to take this opportunity to warmly thank the Council's President for the month of September, Ambassador Yañez-Barnuevo of Spain, for the excellent leadership that he provided.

Although the situation in Iraq has been under continuous review by the Security Council, it has been some time since the Council actually adopted a resolution relating to Iraq. We regret the recent events and the threatening Iraqi troop movements that compelled the Council members to resort to the decision that has been taken tonight. We hope that appropriate lessons will have been drawn from the latest crisis and that the objectives contained in this resolution will serve the larger purpose of maintaining peace and stability in the region.

My delegation appreciates the invaluable role played by the United States in reversing what appeared to be a potentially dangerous situation. We are also appreciative of the personal efforts being made by the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation with a view to resolving some of the main issues that lie at the root of tension and hostility in the region.

Pakistan enjoys brotherly relations both with Kuwait and with Iraq. It is therefore our earnest desire that both these countries should be able to live in peace as good neighbours.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): At the outset I congratulate you, Sir, most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We are confident of your abilities and that the Council is in good hands.

We also wish to express deep gratitude to Ambassador Yañez-Barnuevo for successfully and capably guiding the work of the Council last month.

My delegation deeply regrets Iraq's recent hostile and provocative intentions, which triggered worldwide outcry and condemnation. There is no doubt that my country did not hesitate to condemn these unjustified threats and intimidation against the people of Kuwait and against Kuwait's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

This latest action was by no means an innocuous southward drive for training or for a change of climate. In our view, it had all the manifestations of a material breach of the main Security Council resolutions on this subject - in particular, resolutions 687 (1991) and 833 (1993). We demand that Iraq immediately complete its withdrawal of all military units recently deployed in the direction of the border with Kuwait.

From now on, we believe, there is only one avenue available to Iraq - namely, that of seeking peace and learning to live peacefully with its smaller and weaker neighbour, the Kuwaiti nation. How that is to be achieved depends solely on Iraq, which must demonstrate peaceful intentions in concrete fashion and unequivocally to the international community. We believe that Iraq could do so, but it must have the necessary willingness and resolve. That is all it takes.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United Kingdom.

My Government is delighted that the Security Council adopted this resolution yesterday, thus underlining the determination of the Council to take firm and decisive action to prevent a recurrence of the events of 1990 and 1991. The developments of the last two weeks bear a superficial similarity to the events of four years ago. Fortunately the prompt action by the Council, through its statement of 8 October, made it clear to Saddam Hussein that the Council's resolve had not weakened, and helped to prevent another attempt by Iraq to threaten and browbeat its small neighbour and the international community. That statement and this resolution represent a classic example of preventive diplomacy.

But the events of the last two weeks - both the threatening statements by the Iraqi leadership and the substantial Iraqi troop movements towards the Kuwaiti border - represent a serious setback to the policy of cooperation between Iraq and the Security Council. The Government of Iraq has apparently attempted to influence the discussions in this Council through intimidation and threats. The Council has made it clear that it will not tolerate such tactics. Any confidence members of the Council may have begun to develop in the good intentions of the Iraqi leadership has evaporated.

Once again Iraq has resorted to threatening its neighbours. Once again Kuwait's friends have rallied to its support. My Government, along with the United States, France and other members of the coalition, responded immediately to Kuwait's request for assistance. "HMS Cornwall" - part of the Royal Navy's Armilla Patrol - was already off Kuwait by 9 October. This was followed by a doubling of the number of Royal Air Force Tornado aircraft in the Gulf and the dispatch of the spearhead battalion and of a further Royal Navy destroyer.

The main purpose of the resolution that we have just adopted is to prevent Iraq from repeating its actions of the last few weeks. The coalition cannot be expected to have to move large numbers of troops and military equipment into and out of the Gulf at the whim of Saddam Hussein. That is why we have insisted that the troops deployed to the south have to be returned to their original positions. That is why we have also insisted that the level of Iraqi forces in southern Iraq be kept where it was prior to the recent deployments.

The Iraqi Government has tried to justify its behaviour by speaking of its sovereign right to deploy its troops wherever it likes within its own territory. But Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations requires all Members to refrain

> "from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state".

Four years ago similar Iraqi troop movements led to the invasion of Kuwait. On this occasion Iraqi artillery and

tanks were deployed in positions pointing towards and within range of Kuwait, with ammunition at the ready. Let us be clear: this action was a threat to Kuwait and represented a breach of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation will be arriving in New York tomorrow. We look forward to hearing from him the results of his visit to the region. We have read with interest the joint Iraqi-Russian communiqué issued in Baghdad. We note the apparent Iraqi "readiness" to recognize Kuwait and its borders on the basis of Security Council resolution 833 (1993). But our confidence in that Iraqi "readiness" to do anything positive has been seriously undermined. What we need in future are not words but deeds.

Iraq's recognition of Kuwait and its frontier as demarcated by the United Nations must take the same form as its decision to annex Kuwait in 1990. This means a decision by the Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq under the chairmanship of Saddam Hussein, a decision by the National Council of Iraq and publication of both these decisions in the *Official Gazette* of Iraq, as well as official notification of these actions to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

But the Security Council requires more than the recognition of Kuwait and its frontiers by Iraq. In the words of resolution 687 (1991), the Council needs "to be assured of Iraq's peaceful intentions". We also require full implementation of all the Council's relevant resolutions. In particular, Iraq must cooperate with the United Nations Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency in their continuing work aimed at securing full compliance with section C of resolution 687 (1991). It must remedy the appalling human rights situation throughout the country and cease the repression of its own citizens, as called for in Security Council resolution 688 (1991). It must cease any involvement in State-sponsored terrorism and it must cooperate with the International Committee of the Red Cross in accounting for the over 600 Kuwaiti and other nationals missing since the conflict.

It is often suggested that recent Iraqi actions were intended to draw attention to the plight of the Iraqi people. I must say that I think this unlikely, given Saddam Hussein's record in heeding the concerns of his own people. We deplore the suffering of the Iraqi people, but we must not forget that it is Saddam Hussein and not the United Nations that is responsible for their suffering. Medical supplies have never been subject to United Nations sanctions and foodstuffs have been exempted since the adoption of resolution 687 (1991) in April 1991. The United Nations has offered Iraq a mechanism which would alleviate the suffering. Under the terms of resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), Iraq would have been permitted to sell up to $1.6 billion of oil over six months, in return for which it would have received nearly $1 billion worth of humanitarian supplies. More recently, Iraq blocked plans to flush the Iraq-Turkey oil pipeline, which would also have enabled more food and medicines to be imported.

President Saddam Hussein has held the Iraqi people and the international community to ransom for too long. His latest acts have further aroused the world's distrust. The only way forward for his country and his people must lie in an end to his policies of intimidation, the demonstration by deed of Iraq's formal recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty, and its compliance with all the other requirements of the Security Council's resolutions, including the one we adopted yesterday.

I resume my function as President of the Security Council.

I now call on the representative of Kuwait.

Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) *(interpretation from Arabic):* On behalf of the delegation of Kuwait, Mr. President, it is my pleasure to pay tribute to the excellent manner in which you, have conducted the work of the Security Council this month. Your experience, wisdom and excellent performance have made themselves felt during your presidency. I should also like to stress the good relationship that exists between our two countries, which is based on friendship, respect and mutual trust. Nor can I fail to pay special tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Barnuevo of Spain, or to congratulate him on his success in conducting the Security Council's work last month.

The people and Government of Kuwait, having followed this meeting through the media, are more confident about the present and the future. The members of the Council have just demonstrated a very strong stand on the side of right and strong determination to uphold the law. These expressions assure every small State that it is safe from the law of the jungle and make every small State much more attached to the United Nations. To all members here, my friends, we express our gratitude for the devotion to peace and security and our

thanks for the concern they have shown over Kuwait as a country and a people.

Today's meeting and the resolution just adopted arise from the Security Council's legal and political responsibilities for the maintenance of security and stability in the Gulf region, safeguarding the inviolability of the international borders between Kuwait and Iraq, preventing Iraq from using force and ensuring its acceptance of and compliance with all Security Council resolutions relating to its aggression against my country.

Over the past few days, the Iraqi regime has engaged in a number of political and military activities and taken measures which, by any standards, violate the very basis of the cease-fire arranged by the Security Council in resolution 687 (1991). Those measures have created a climate of tension and unrest and have threatened regional peace and security. The countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the United States and the United Kingdom have deployed military forces in Kuwait. France, too, has participated in this effort to deter aggression and safeguard peace. On behalf of the people and the Government of Kuwait, we extend to those countries our gratitude. The majority of States and regional organizations, including the Gulf Cooperation Council, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have condemned the Iraqi measures and demanded that Iraq should restore the situation that existed prior to these developments and that it should implement all the relevant Security Council resolutions concerning its aggression against the State of Kuwait.

Given the intentions of the Iraqi regime which have been made quite apparent by its record of aggression that has immersed the whole region in a nightmare, the deployment of such large units of the Iraqi army, with their heavy sophisticated weaponry cannot be considered, under any circumstances, a purely internal affair or one that falls within the purview of inviolable sovereignty, particularly in the light of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council's statement of 6 October, which contained a clear threat to Kuwait and the States of the region and wherein the Iraqi regime attacked the role and authority of the Security Council, and attacked also the United Nations Special Commission mandated to supervise the destruction of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. It also attacked the Commission's Chairman, Ambassador Ekeus. All this took place against the well-known backdrop of the Iraqi regime's continued refusal to recognize the international border demarcated by the United Nations between Iraq and Kuwait, the inviolability of which was guaranteed by the Security Council in its resolution 833 (1993), not to mention that regime's rejection of the other obligations contained in resolution 687 (1991).

Because of these developments, and because of the threat they pose to the security and stability of the region, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States of the Gulf Cooperation Council held a special meeting in Kuwait. The Foreign Ministers of the United States and the United Kingdom participated in part of that meeting pursuant to their countries' support for Kuwait, their desire to safeguard its security and stability. Because of their awareness of the gravity of the aggressive steps taken by the Iraqi regime against the security and stability of the region, they have taken practical steps to deter the aggressor and to consolidate the practical underpinnings of the security and stability of the region's countries. The resolution the Council has just adopted supports and reinforces that constructive tendency.

On behalf of Kuwait, I wish to thank all the States that sponsored this resolution. This is a very lofty expression of a sense of responsibility and of respect for the Charter and for security and stability. I should also like to thank all the States that have voted in favour of the draft resolution. By so doing, those countries have contributed to the consolidation of the foundations of security and have upheld the Council's authority and its resolutions. I cannot fail also to thank the Secretary-General of our Organization for having taken the initiative, in line with his role and responsibility, by adopting two statements that were commensurate with the scale of the developments. I wish to thank in particular the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) for its important role in maintaining security and preventing any disturbance that may threaten security in the demilitarized zone for which it is responsible. UNIKOM's mandate has been strengthened by the paragraph referred to by the Council in its resolution of today in the President's statement of 8 October 1994, wherein the Council asked the Mission to redouble its vigilance and efforts in safeguarding the security of the region. We are sure that the resolution adopted today is a proper expression of preventive diplomacy and use of the authority and means available to the Council to prevent any threat to peace and security and the need to warn against the consequences of such actions.

Kuwait believes that if the Security Council resolutions adopted before the recent developments were moral and political deterrents to Iraq, today's resolution, with all the arrangements it contains, will prevent Iraq

from repeating such actions. It is a practical deterrent. We are convinced that all States of the region and the peace and security of the region will benefit from this resolution.

The President: I thank the representative of Kuwait for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on my list. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place on Monday, 17 October 1994, at 11 a.m.

The meeting rose at 12.35 a.m. on Sunday, 16 October.